

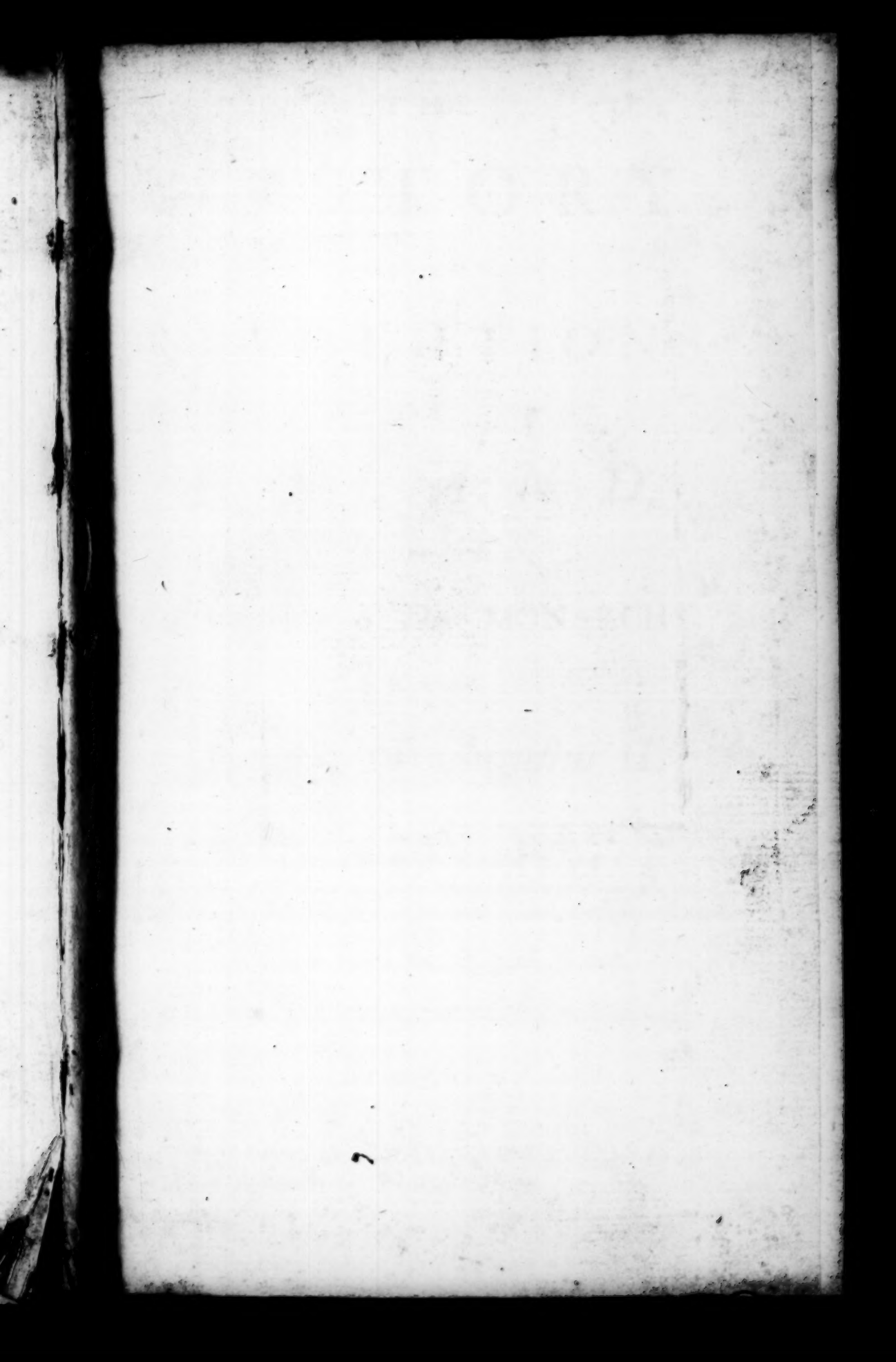


William Leaf.





William Leaf.



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K Guyot des Fontaines (P.7.)

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND,  
FROM THE  
FOUNDATION of That MONARCHY,  
TO THE  
DEATH of *Augustus II.*

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By M. L'Abbé *DES FONTAINES.*

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Translated from the Original *French.*

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TO THE  
READER.



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T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**T**HE Author acquaints us in his Preface, that he has collected into the following Work, all the curious and authentic Particulars which have any material Relation to the History of Poland; and that he was unwilling to trouble the World with any circumstantial Account of the fabulous Reigns of Lech I. and his Successors, down to Miecslaus, together with the Wars of the Poles with the Czechites, the Roxolans, and other barbarous Nations, who shrowd themselves in the bleak Recesses of their Forests, and are buried under the Ice and Snows of the Northern Regions, since the Particulars are not of such a Nature as to excite any rational Curiosity, and would be as little productive of Instruction in the Military Art.

He then informs us, that he has, in many Particulars, followed Duglossius, a Canon of Cracow, who composed an History of Poland, in Latin, which, tho' it be an excellent Work, in a Variety of Particulars, yet has several Defects, which our Author has endeavoured to rectify; and it is the Opinion of very competent Judges, that he has not been unsuccessful

## TO the READER.

*ful in that Attempt. This, at least, is certain, that a Vein of Candor and Impartiality is visible through the Work. The Historical Events recorded in it, are related in a manly unaffected Style, and the Author seems to have been well versed in that particular Narration which constitutes no inconsiderable Part of the Merit of a good Historian. These Revolutions are likewise enliven'd with several agreeable Descriptions of Countries, and the Manners of their Inhabitants, with a Variety of other entertaining Particulars, which we need not enumerate, because they will be obvious to every Person of Taste.*

*It may be proper likewise to acquaint the Reader, that our French Historian has frequently had recourse to the celebrated Thuanus, for several material Particulars, which contribute not a little to the Embellishment of his Work.*

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A MAP OF POLAND  
with the Adjacent Dominions of  
RUSSIA DENMARK  
AND SWEDEN.





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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND, &c.

*An Historical and Geographical Description of that Kingdom.*

THE Kingdom of *Poland* is composed of *Poland* properly so called, and which is divided into the upper and lower *Poland*, *Royal Prussia*, the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, and the Provinces of *Mazovia*, *Polackia*, *Black Russia*, *Volbinia*, *Podolia*, the *Ukraine*, and some other small Provinces. The *Baltick Sea*, *Samogitia*, *Livonia* and *Muscovy* constitute its Northern Bounds. The Dominions of the *Russian Monarch*, and *Little Tartary* form its Frontiers to the East. It is terminated on the South by *Moldavia*, and the Mountains of *Kra-*

## The History of the

*pac*; and its Western Limits are *Moravia*, *Silesia* and the Territories of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. It is extended 260 Leagues in Length, from West to East, and comprehends 200 Leagues in Breadth from South to North.

*Gnesna*, which is a City in Great *Poland*, was formerly the Capital of the Kingdom, and is still the Metropolitan City. Its Archbishop is the Head of the Republick during the continuance of any Interregnum; and his Power is so great, that he has frequently caused Kings themselves to be de-throned.

*Cracow*, which is seated on the *Weissel*, is now considered as the Capital of the Kingdom, since the Sovereigns have fix'd their Residence in that City. The Royal Ornaments are deposited there, and 'tis now the Place where the Kings are crowned.

The *Weissel*, the *Boristhenes*, and the *Niester* are its principal Rivers. Commerce might easily flourish in that Country, since Nature has accommodated the Inhabitants with each Particular capable of facilitating Navigation and Traffic with *Europe* and *Asia*; but these Advantages are disregarded by them. The Gentry are devoted to Arms alone, and the Peasants are a Race of miserable and unindustrious People, who are crushed under the Yoke of their Lords, and have no Property that they can call their own.

*Poland* is not strengthened by any fortified Cities, and every Place is intirely open and free. The *Poles* consider Castles and Fortresses as so many Rocks on which their Independency would be wrecked, and as the tyrannical Instruments of some ambitious Person who would be solicitous to load them with Chains. *Kaminieck*, on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, is not considerable either for its Extent or Fortifications; and *Dantzick*, which

which is the strongest City in *Poland*, is but moderately fortified.

The King, who is considered as the first Magistrate in the Republick, derives all his Authority from that of the Nation, and if he should happen to abuse the Power confided to him, and should refuse to conform to the Compact made between the People and himself at his Coronation, he would soon behold a potent Confederacy form'd against him for his Deposition. He is incapable of making new Laws, raising Taxes, contracting Alliances, or declaring War without the Ratification of a Diet; nor can he even marry without the Permission of the States. In a Word, the Prince is not authorized to coin Money, since this Prerogative is peculiar to the Republick. His Revenues amount to no more than a Million of Livres, but he only defrays the Expence of his Table; all other Charges are paid by the Republick.

The Senate is composed of the Clergy and the Nobility, for the Third State is not so much as known in *Poland*. The Grand Marshal, the Marshal of the Court, the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, and the Treasurer are the first Senators. The Kingdom of *Poland* and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania* have equally all these Officers.

The Grand Marshal is the supreme Judge of all Disorders which, at any Time, happen in the Diets and the King's Household. He imposes Silence, and authorizes Freedom of Speech in the National Assemblies. He introduces Ambassadors, examines their Dispatches, and consigns their Apartments to them. He likewise estimates the Price of all Merchandise whatever.

The Marshal of the Court, or the Deputy Marshal, is his Substitute, and discharges all his Functions in his Absence.

The Chancellor is intrusted with the Seals of the Kingdom, and even the Sovereign cannot compel him to affix them to any Decrees without the Privy and Approbation of the States. All civil Affairs, and those which relate to the King's Domain are brought to his Tribunal. He is attentive to the Preservation of the Laws and the Support of Liberty. He returns Answers, in the Diets, to the Ministers of foreign Powers, and, if he happens to be an Ecclesiastic, he extends his Inspection to the Secretaries, the Priests and Preachers at Court.

The Jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor is exerted only in the Absence of the Grand Chancellor, but he is in Possession of Seals as well as the other. These two Great Posts are alternately enjoyed by a spiritual and a temporal Lord.

The Money which belongs to the Republick is deposited with the Treasurer, who regulates the Revenues; and he ought to assist in all Contracts made by the King, and which have no Validity 'till they have been signed by this Officer.

Those who compose the Senate, next in Station to these ten prime Officers of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy, are the Bishops, the Palatines, the Castellans, and some Starosts, who preserve the Rank annexed to the Dignity of their Bishopricks, Palatinates, Castellanies and Starosties.

A Palatine commands the Troops of the particular Province which is consigned to his Government; he is the President of the Nobility of his Palatinate, and his Jurisdiction extends to civil and criminal Affairs

The Castellans are the Lieutenants of the Palatines; and the Starosts, or Captains, have much the



## Revolutions of POLAND.

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the same Rank. But tho' the Palatines generally precede the Castellans and the Starosts, yet the Castellan of *Cracow*, is, by a peculiar Privilege, superior to the Palatine of that City; and the Starost, or Captain General, of *Samogitia*, which is a vassal Province of the Republick of *Poland*, takes Place of several *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Palatines.

The Clergy, who constitute the first Order of Men in the Kingdom, are rich and powerful; they possess more than 200000 Towns and several considerable Cities. The Power of the secular Clergy, is, however, ballanced by that of the Monks who invade the Privileges of the common Pastors in a thousand Instances, with Impunity, and cause themselves to be dreaded and respected, in Consequence of the Empire they have assumed over the Minds of a credulous People.

The Gentry compose the second Order, and they possess Dignities and Employments, as well in the Kingdom as in the Grand Duchy, and in which they never permit Strangers or the Commonalty to have the least Participation. They are privileged to elect their Kings, and the Senators have involved themselves in the greatest Dangers, whenever they have discovered an Inclination to render themselves Masters of the Election.

When the Kingdom is threatned with any Irruption, the *Pospolite*, or the whole Body of the Nobility, are armed and mount their Horses. Besides the Palatines of each Province, who appear at the Head of their respective Nobility, this Body is commanded by a General, even when the King himself is present. The Nobility who compose these Troops are very magnificent and courageous; they are covered in their March with the Skins of Tigers, Leopards and Pan-

thers; their Horses are full of Mettle, and their Furniture is very splendid; but the Gentlemen pay no extraordinary Obedience to the Orders of their Chiefs. They neglect, with Impunity, to assemble at the Place appointed by the Letters of Convocation, and when they happen not to be paid, which is generally the Case, they disband themselves without any previous Discharge. Their March is altogether as irregular; they commit a Thousand Disorders in the Kingdom, and as there are never any Suttlers in the *Polish* Army, and as no Care is taken to erect Magazines, they make no scruple to pillage wherever they come.

The Peasants are in a slavish Subjection to the Gentry. They have no Property of their own, and all their Acquisitions are made for their Masters. They are indispensably employed in the Culture of the Earth, and they live in an absolute State of Servitude. They are incapable of engaging in any State of Life which would procure them their Freedom, without the Permission of their Lords, and they are exposed to all the Effects of the ill Disposition of their Tyrants, who oppress them with Impunity.

The general Diets are usually held either at *Warsaw*, or at *Grodno*, in the *Lithuanian* Palatinate of *Troki*. These are always preceded by Dietines, or particular Assemblies of Palatinates, in which they choose their Nuncios, or Deputies for the general Assembly; and their several Instructions, with the Demands they are to form, in the Name of the Province, are regulated in these Dietines.

The King convokes the Diet by dispatching Letters, which are called *Universalia*, to all the Palatinates; and yet the Nobility assembled in the Reign of *John Casimir* the Second, without  
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the Orders of that Prince, and the *Polish* *Pospolite* marched into the *Ukraine*, in order to subdue the *Cossacks*, contrary to his Approbation.

The Nuncios, who are elected in the Dietines, meet at the Place specified by the Letters of Convocation, and seat themselves in the Assembly, according to the Order and Dignity of the Palatinates which they represent. They afterwards proceed to the Election of a Marshal of the Nuncios, who is alternately chosen out of the Lords of great and little *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

This Officer has a very extraordinary Power in the Diet. No Member whatever can speak without his Permission, and he is empowered to impose Silence on whom he pleases. He is the Organ of the Nobility, and transmits to the Senate and the Sovereign, all Complaints against exorbitant Proceedings, Abuses in Government, and injurious Treatment of particular Persons; he is attentive to the Protection and Safety of the Deputies, whose Chief he is constituted by his Office, and he punishes all Offences that are committed in the Assembly.

The general Diet for the Election of a King, is that wherein Strangers are interested the most. When an *Interregnum* has been declared, either in Consequence of the Death, Abdication or Deposition of the King, the Primate, who is then the Chief of the Republick, dispatches his *Universalia* to the several Provinces, for a general Assembly. A Deputation of Senators is likewise sent to the Army, to assist the Generals with their Counsels, and an exact Inventory is taken of the Treasure of the Crown. All the Tribunals are then discontinued, and every Jurisdiction, except those of the Marshals, entirely ceases.

## The History of the

The Assembly is at last held near *Warsaw*, in the open Field, which is surrounded with Ditches and covered over with Boards. The *Poles* call it the *Szopa* or the *Colo*. On the Day fixed for opening the Diet, the Senators and the Nuncios are present at the Celebration of a Mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Church of St. *John* in *Warsaw*, after which they repair to the *Colo*, and when they have elected a Marshal of the Nuncios, they form a Confederation or a Treaty, by which the Members of the Diet take an Oath not to separate, till they have elected a King, and not to acknowledge any Candidate, if he has not been elected by their unanimous Approbation; nor render him any Act of Obedience, till he has sworn to observe the *Pacta Conventa*, and the other Laws of the Kingdom.

When this Union has been formed, the Members enquire into the Exorbitances that have been committed in the Course of the last Reign; and tho' the Authority of the Prince be limited to very narrow Restrictions, and tho' the Jealousy, which the Nation entertains of all Attempts against its Independency, prompts it to a scrupulous Examination of their Prince's Conduct, yet there are always some Points to be complain'd of, and reformed, at the Close of every Reign; and the *Interregnum* proves a favourable Opportunity for the Correction of those Abuses. The Laws are reinstated in their original Vigour, and new ones are likewise added; all Customs, that are inconsistent with the Immunities of the Nobility, are rectified. They likewise regulate the Administration of the State, and prescribe to their future King, the Observance of those Rules and Duties from which he is never permitted to deviate.

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All Ambassadors are introduced by the Senators, and they address the Assembly in *Latin*. The President answers them in the Name of the Senate, and the Marshal of the Nuncios on the Part of the Nobility.

It is incumbent on the Ministers of the Candidates to let their Gold glitter as much as possible; they ought to give splendid Entertainments, which, besides their Pomp, must be carried into Debauch; and nothing is more agreeable to the *Poles*, who are naturally magnificent, than Feasts of this Nature. The Nobility are captivated, in a peculiar Manner, with the Attractions of *Hungarian* Wine, and infallibly declare in Favour of the Candidate who causes it to flow in the greatest Profusion.

The Confederates usually take an Oath, not to attach themselves to any particular Faction, and the Ministers are prohibited from continuing at *Warsaw*, or forming any Cabals; but these Injunctions are always ill observed. The Ambassadors enter upon Intrigues, even in Publick; the Nobility receive their Presents, sell their own Suffrages with Impunity, and render the Throne venal, after their Infraction of the first Article of the Confederation. These mercenary Gentlemen usually conduct themselves with very little Fidelity to the Candidate in whose Interest they pretend to be engaged, and if they have nothing more to receive, they immediately forget the Presents they have already taken, and espouse the Cause of a more wealthy Competitor, without the least Hesitation.

This pretended Liberty therefore, from which the *Poles* would be thought to derive so much Glory, is no more than a Slave to Avidity. They sacrifice their Privileges to Repasts, or the Purfes of the Candidates. They have been seen



## The History of the

to crouch under the inglorious Yoak of Foreigners, without making any Effort to support the King they had elected, and they have abandon'd their Country as a Prey to the *Germans*, whom they constantly hated ; and likewise to the *Russians*, who were always a contemptible and conquered Enemy, in the Reigns of *Stephen Battori* and *John Sobieski*.

When any Candidate has gained the Suffrages of all the Palatinates, he is declared to be the elected King, by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and is accordingly proclaimed, as such, by the Marshals of the Crown and Grand Duchy, in Conjunction with the Nuncios. An Oath is then exacted from the new Monarch, in Favour of the *Pacta Conventa*, and when he has sworn to conform to the Regulations of the Diet, with Reference to the Exorbitances, and to observe all the other Laws of the Kingdom, they proceed to the Ceremonials of his Coronation.

Popery is the established Religion, and the Prince himself is obliged to profess it. The Zeal of the *Poles* has always prevailed, with Relation to this Article, and all the Efforts made by the Advocates for the *Ausburg* Confession, for the Introduction of a Protestant Prince on the Throne of *Poland*, have hitherto proved ineffectual. There are, however, great Numbers of *Christians* of the *Greek Church*, as well as *Lutherans*, *Anabaptists* and *Socinians* in this Kingdom, and there are even *Pagans* to be found in the Recesses of *Litbuania*. The People in general are more superstitious than devout, and they receive whatever is transmitted to them from *Rome*, with a blind Submission, and without bestowing the least Examination on the Particulars.

The

## Revolutions of POLAND.

II

The Monks improve this stupid Credulity to their own Advantage: They frequently interfere in Affairs of State, and enrich themselves by those Means. The Jesuits of *Leopold* in *Russia* have a Cope entirely covered with Gold and precious Stones, in their Treasury, but it is likewise so exceeding weighty, that the Priest is incapable of using it at Mass. This Ornament alone is valued at Fifty Thousand Crowns.

With Respect to the Manners and Disposition of this Nation, the *Poles*, tho' they are naturally haughty and imperious, are yet sufficiently qualified to return any polite Treatment they receive; and if a Stranger only tenders them the first Civilities, and is sedulous to cultivate their Friendship, their Behaviour will always correspond with his Advances, and they will be industrious to render him all the good Offices imaginable.

Magnificence is the Foible of the Nobility, and they sacrifice all things to Scenes of Luxury. As they seldom behold any Person superior to themselves, in their own Country, and as they treat their Inferiors with an Air of absolute Authority, they live in all the Splendor of Princes, while Fortune proves favourable to their Inclinations. Prodigality and Debauch are considered as Virtues by a martial Nobility, who are frequently precipitated into Extremes, by Independence and Impunity. Arms are their only Occupation; they discover but little Curiosity to cultivate the polite Arts, and their Commerce is transacted among them by none but Strangers. In a Word, the *Poles* are only solicitous to distinguish themselves in War, to defend their Frontiers, and to be vigilant over the Conduct of their Kings, since they think it degrading to indulge themselves in any other  
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*The History of the, &c.*

Attentions. As an Air of Sincerity is diffused thro' all their Conduct, their Friendships are constant, but they are easily rendered the Dupes of their Enemies. As they are very disinterested in their Desires, they seldom amass great Riches, and frequently dissipate their Patrimony. If they are, at any Time, reduced to a melancholy State of Indigence, they borrow without any Intention of making a proper Restitution, and they think themselves privileged to dispose of the Property of others with the same Prodigality in which they waste their own. They appear serene and undisturb'd amidst the greatest Calamities, and behold the Miseries of their Friends and Countrymen, and nearest Relations, with such an Aspect of Indifference as is equal to the Insensibility with which they support their own Misfortunes. They are naturally courageous and intrepid, they habituate themselves to all Sorts of Fatigue; and would indeed be invincible, if they paid a due Respect to their Chiefs. This is the general Character of the *Poles*, whose History I have undertaken to write.



THE

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T H E

# I N T R O D U C T I O N.

**T**HE *Poles*, like the generality of other Nations whose Origin is unknown, have sought for illustrious Ancestors in the remotest Antiquity, and if we may credit their own Historians, their first Prince was a Descendent from *Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*. They give him the Name of *Lecht*, and declare that he came from *Dalmatia*. This Prince left his Throne to his Son *Wissimir*, who founded the City of *Dantzick*. We discover no Traces in History, of any Actions that were performed by the Posterity of these two first Kings of *Poland*, and it is a Void which Fiction it self has never attempted to fill up. It only supposes, that the Nation, after the Extinction of the Royal Family, assembled for the Election of new Masters. The Nobility were on the Point of proceeding to this Choice, when the People, who had long been harrassed with the Tyranny of their last Kings, demanded an Abolition of the regal Government, that they might no longer depend on the Caprice of one Man.

The great Lords, who were allured with the Hopes of sharing all the Honours of Dominion, were easily induced to comply with the Sollicitations of the People; in Consequence of which they established a Republick, the Administration whereof was intrusted with Twelve Palatines; but the unsteady People were soon dissatisfied with



with this new Plan of Government; an Anarchy full of Disorder and Confusion inspired them with an Aversion to their State of Independence, and a Set of Enemies, who were always ready to derive Advantages from the Troubles of the State, and the Conjunctions of those Times, ravaged the Provinces with Impunity, and made this Nation pay very dear for the fatal Liberty they had acquired.

The Eyes of the People were at last open'd to their real Interest, and they judg'd it would be most advantageous to them to have but one Master. This Consideration induced them to turn their Thoughts to the Election of a King, but a Choice of this Nature was attended with great Difficulties. The State of their Affairs required some martial Spirit to repel the Invasions of the neighbouring People, as well as to re-conquer the Territories that had been wrested from them by Usurpations, and to re-establish the Honour of the Nation. It was likewise necessary for this Hero to temper an Intrepidity of Mind, with the Softness of a prudent Charity, in Order to gain upon those Dispositions that had been rendered intractable by a long State of Independence, and it was also thought requisite, that the Virtue of this future Prince should afford them a sufficient Security for his proper Use of that supreme Power with which they had an Inclination to intrust him.

These Qualities are seldom united in one Man; the *Poles* however found one of their Countrymen who possess'd them in an equal Degree. *Grack* was the Name: of this virtuous Person, who brought the Calamities of *Poland* to a happy Period. As he was always victorious in the Wars he undertook, and as he likewise guided the Reins of Government with a consummate Prudence,

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dence, he constantly rendered himself dear to his People, and formidable to his Enemies. He built the City of *Cracow* on the *Weissel*, and *Bohemia* submitted to the Laws of so accomplish'd a Prince\*.

*Lech* the Second became his Successor, in Consequence of a Crime, for he secretly destroy'd *Grack*, his Elder Brother, and ascended his Father's Throne, as well by the Choice of the Nobility, as by Virtue of the Right he claimed to the Succession. All his Subjects submitted to his Authority, while his Crime was undiscover'd; but as soon as it happen'd to be detected, the Lords would no longer suffer the Assassin of his own Brother to sit upon the Throne he had usurped, and to grasp the Reins of Government with those Hands that were polluted with the Blood of their lawful Prince. He was chased from the Kingdom in a degrading Manner, and, according to some Authors, died without leaving any Children, at the same Time that he was detected by his Subjects, and wounded by the Remorse of his own Conscience.

After the Death of the Two Sons of *Grack* the First, the *Poles* were desirous of submitting to the Government of his Daughter *Vanda*, a very amiable Princess, and who was graced with the Accomplishments of Eloquence, Wisdom and Courage, to a Degree that was altogether uncommon in her Sex. She reigned with Glory, and amidst the Tranquillity of a profound Peace, when a neighbouring Prince sent Ambassadors to

\* His Reign is thought to be coincident with the Beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century. *Duglossius* declares, Lib. i. *Habet nonnullorum assertio Græcum principem ante incarnationem Christi annis circiter quadringentis regnare apud Polonorum gentem cœpisse.* But if he reigned 400 Years before the Incarnation, what a Void will be open'd between his Reign and that of *Mieslaus* the First!

her to treat of a Marriage between himself and her, and to denounce War against her Dominions, if she should happen to reject his Offers. *Vanda*, according to some Historians, had render'd herself incapable of the nuptial State, by a Vow of Virginity which she had made to the Gods of her Country. She therefore, prepared for War, assembled her Troops, animated them by her Presence and Discourse; broke the Measures of her Enemy, opposed his Incursions, and constrained him, at last, to come to a Conference. What can be impracticable to Beauty in Conjunction with Eloquence? *Vanda* was soon render'd victorious by the sole Aid of her Charms; She enchanted the hostile Troops in a Moment; the Commanders refused to combat against so amiable a Princess; the Soldiers quitted their Ranks, the most Savage among them were disarmed of all their Rage, their Chief himself was forsaken by all his Troops, he yielded to the Impressions of Confusion and Despair, and plunged his Sword into his own Breast, as a Punishment for his Temerity.

The Princess was easily induced to pardon the Foes she had vanquished in that manner, and as she was satisfied with securing the Repose of her Subjects, she repaired to *Cracow*, to receive their Applause in that City, where they decreed her the Honour of a Triumph, for the Victory she had acquired by her Charms and Wit, and in which her Soldiers could not pretend to any participation. 'Tis Pity this Princess should become an Enthusiast after this great Event; but she considered it as an Evidence of the Favour of her tutelar Gods, and imagined it was incumbent on her to testify her Gratitude by a strange Sacrifice, in which she herself was the Victim. In a Word, she threw herself into the *Weissel*.

A Death so tragical as this, left the *Poles* a second

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cond time destitute of a Master, and they had then an Inclination to enjoy the Sweets of Independency. Tho' Liberty had already proved so fatal to them, they were allured by the Pleasures they proposed to enjoy, by changing their State, and they resumed the Republican Form of Government. *Poland* was then divided into twelve Palatinates, the Administration of which was committed to the same Number of Lords, who were chosen to dispence Justice to the People, and to defend them against the Enemies of their State. This ancient Order still subsists among them, and the *Palatines* have to this Day, a Power, under their Kings, almost equal to that which they enjoyed at the time of their first Institution.

This new Change was productive of new Calamities, and the *Polish* Arms were not very prosperous under the Conduct of the *Palatines*. The Republick was destitute of Force and Troops; and seem'd in Danger of being overwhelmed by the Enemies that surrounded it. One Man alone had the Address and Courage to rectify these disorders and to raise the State to its ancient Glory. *Premislaus*, or *Lefzko* the first, a private Soldier, and one whom an Intrepidity of Mind, in Conjunction with a long Series of experience, had exalted above his natural Condition, was the Deliverer of his Country. This brave Man having observed, that the Enemies, who imagined they had nothing more to conquer, kept but a very slender Guard in their Camp, drew together some of his Friends, represented their Calamities to them in a lively manner, acquainting them, at the same time, with the Security into which their Enemies were sunk, and the Facility of gaining a compleat Victory over them; and he engaged them to be his Companions in an Enterprize that was rendred happy by a laudable Temerity. He

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divided his Troop into several small Bodies, after which he chose a dark Night for the Execution of his Design, and the Horrors of the gloom being intermixed with the Confusion usually created by Surprisals of this Nature, the Enemies were siezed with Consternation, and multitudes perished by the Valour of the Assailants. All his Attacks succeeded to his Wish; he broke into their Camp from several Quarters, and the whole was a Scene of Flight and Slaughter. A rich Booty was the first Reward of this heroic Action; *Premislaus* was afterwards crown'd, and the People were contented to own their Deliverer for their Master.

The Valour alone of *Premislaus* had advanced him to the Throne; but Fortune prepared him a Successor. This Prince dying without Issue, several Lords equally aspired to the Supreme Power, and, in Consequence of their Cabals, form'd different Parties, whose mutual Animosities threatned the Nation with a civil War. The *Poles*, in order to prevent this Calamity, assembled together, and unanimously agreed to acknowledge him for their Prince, who should surpass all his Competitors in the swiftness of his Horses. They fixed on this Expedient as the most effectual for the prevention of Fraud, notwithstanding which, a *Polish* Lord, named *Lefzek*, entertain'd Hopes of rendring his Ambition successful by the Aid of Art. With this View he caused several Iron Spikes to be privately scatter'd over the Field where the Race was to be performed, and only reserved a clear Path for himself, which he had made distinguishable by some particular Marks. This fraudulent Design was rendred ineffectual by a meer circumstance of Chance, and the Stratagem was discovered by a young Man, whose great Qualities were obscured by the Meanness of his Birth and Profession. The Youth, however, did

did not immediately divulge what he had discovered, either through Fear of ill Treatment, or in Hopes of deriving some advantageous Consequence from it.

The Day appointed for the Race at last arrived, but who can express the Astonishment of all the Assembly, or rather of the whole Nation, when they beheld all the Competitors remain Motionless in the midst of their Career, or thrown into the Dust by their Horses, while *Lefzeck* alone launched with Velocity to the Pillar that served as a Boundary to the Course, and to which he arrived in a few Moments? The People had already proclaim'd him for their King, when the unknown Youth, who had discovered the Artifice, and advanced to the Barrier, soon after *Lefzeck*, had the Courage to contest his Pretensions with him, by disclosing the Fraud. The Proof of the dishonourable Expedient practised by the *Polish* Lord, being render'd evident, all his Rivals over whom he had triumphed, rose against him with an Air of Indignation; the exasperated People condemned him to die on the Spot, and by the Effect of a strange Caprice, which however was worthy of a confused Multitude, they immediately crowned the Informer.

The *Poles* were happy under the Government of this new Prince, to whom they gave the Appellation of *Lefzko* the Second, a Name then common among this People. He repelled the Enemies of the State, and carried the War into the Heart of their Country. The *Bobemians* and *Moravians* were made sensible of the prosperity that attended his Arms, and he was either fear'd or respected by all the neighbouring Nations. He was not only a Warriour, but likewise possessed all the Vertues of a great Prince. Merit was always rewarded in his Reign; he approved himself the

## *The History of the*

Father and Protector of his People, and never suffer'd his original Condition to be erased from his Remembrance.

In Order to secure himself from all Impressions of Pride, he caused the despicable Habit he wore, before the *Poles* array'd him with the Royal Purple, to be constantly carried before him in all publick Ceremonials.

Some Authors have thought that *Leszko* the Second was defeated by *Charlemain*, and that he lost his Life in a Combat with one of the Sons of that Emperor. But however that Fact may be, he was succeeded by his Son *Leszko* the third, who supported by his Vertue, his own Reputation, and that of his Father. When he had conquer'd a Band of Rebels, who made an Insurrection in *Poland*, he assisted his Neighbours who were invaded by the Greeks; and the Succours he afforded them were so powerful, that *Pannonia* was indebted to him for the Liberty it afterwards enjoyed. This Prince had only one legitimate Son, named *Popiel*; but a great number of natural ones, whom he invested with the Sovereignty of several Provinces, which they were to hold as Homagers to the Crown of *Poland*, and to their Brother, who ascended the Throne after his Death, by the unanimous Consent of the Nobility.

*Popiel* the first was a pacific Prince, and destitute of all Ambition. He never had Recourse to Arms, but with a View to defend his Frontiers: he confined himself to the Administration of the interior parts of his Kingdom, and only made War, in Order to procure Peace, and enjoy a Repose to which he was naturally devoted. He transfer'd the Seat of his Empire, from *Cracow* to *Gnesna*, and from this last City to *Crusvicia* which he had newly founded, and which at present is only known by its ancient Reputation.

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The Minority of his Son *Popiel* the Second was past without any Commotions, by Vertue of the prudent Administration of the Unkles of the young Prince. But they received a very unsuitable Compensation for their Services, and were treated with the basest Ingratitude by their Sovereign, when he enter'd upon his Majority. He was born with a malignant Disposition, which happen'd to be unfortunately cherish'd by the Artifices of an ambitious Woman. She left nothing unattempted to remove his Unkles from him, and at last resolv'd on their Destruction. “ How long, said she to *Popiel*, did you intend to continue under the Tuition of your Unkles? Will you always suffer them to be Masters of your Person and all Publick Affairs; and while their Steps are continually tending to the Throne, will you take no measures to defeat their Ambition? They are solicitous to deprive you of your Crown, and all their Services are calculated to that Effect. Should they even consent to spare your Person, you ought to tremble for our Children. Be prevail'd upon then, to sacrifice these perfidious Men to your own Safety, and consider that you ought to dread the Conduct in which they are all capable of engaging. The weak and voluptuous Prince suffer'd himself to be the more easily wrought upon by these Insinuations, because the Remonstrances he had received from his Unkles, on the Subject of his unmanly Behaviour, became insupportable to him. He pretended therefore, to be indisposed, and, under the pretext of engaging their Attendance at Court, inhumanly caus'd a Poison'd Cup, which he had prepared for that purpose, to be presented to each of them at a Banquet.



*Popiel* endeavoured to palliate this detestable Action, by creating a Belief that he had only prevented their pernicious Designs, and extinguished a formidable Conspiracy, which they had formed against his Life and Crown. He even refused to permit the last Offices to be render'd them, and extended his Inhumanity beyond Death it Self. But these disfigured Remains of his Unkles produced the just Avengers of his Crimes. An Army of Rats, if we may credit some Historians, rose from the Putrefaction of the dead Bodies, and marched to the very Throne, in order to execute the Justice of Heaven on *Popiel* and his Consort, and Children, and it was impossible to chase them away, either by Arms, or Fire, or Water. In a Word the whole Royal Family became the prey of these avenging Animals.

The Subjects of *Popiel* were likewise punished for his Offence, and this seems not to be so fabulous as the other Account. After the Death of this wicked Prince, *Poland*, being destitute of a Chief, became the Theatre of a most cruel War. Rapine, and Murder, Devastations by Fire, and all other Hostilities were either permitted, or not punished in those calamitous Times. The Nobility, disunited among themselves, equally contributed to the Destruction of the State, by their Divisions. Different Factions were daily promoted, and the weakest became a prey to the most potent. The Enemies of that Nation improved these Disorders to their own Advantage, and soon appear'd in the Field, with a Resolution to crush the the victorious as well as the vanquished.

The Nobility were more affected with the Apprehensions of a foreign War; than they were with all the Horrors of their Civil Commotions. A Regard to the general Welfare reunited them against the common Enemy, and extinguished their particular

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ticular Divisions. But the State of Affairs at that time required a Prince capable of making his authority respected, in Order to associate these Chiefs, who were independent of one another, and who were equally ambitious to command the Army. Several Assemblies were held for the Election of a Sovereign, but they had always proved ineffectual.

The Deputies of the Nation had assembled at *Crusvicia*, for a considerable time, without being able to agree in their Choice of a Prince. The great number of People, whom the Election had drawn together in that City, created such a Scarcity of Provisions, that the Lords themselves were left destitute of a Supply. In this extream Necessity, two Angels, according to the credulous Historian \*, came to *Cracow* in human Forms, and lodged with a Person named *Piaſt*, the most charitable and just Man of all the *Poles*. He had nothing left, but a small Cask of Liquor that was very common in that Country; and this he presented to his new Guests, who, in order to requite him for his Hospitality, promised him the Crown of *Poland*, and by a Miracle which they wrought in his presence, assured him of the speedy performance of that promise. They ordered him to distribute the Liquor to all those who should happen to desire it. He accordingly complied, and the Citizens of *Crusvicia* found an inexhaustible Source of Liquor in a little Vessel.

The Electors were all unanimous in their Suffrages, for a Man in whose Favour Heaven had wrought such a Prodigy. *Piaſt* was taken from his Cot, in order to be raised to the Throne, and tho' he declined the Honour that was offered him,

\* *Dugloſſius* a Canon of *Cracow*, who wrote the History of *Poland* in *Latin*.

the *Poles* with one Voice acknowledged him for their Prince. He was succeeded by his Son *Semovit* who reigned 32 Years. After his Death, the Nobility confer'd the Regal Dignity on his Son *Lejzko*, tho' a Minor. This Prince never performed any illustrious Action, and he was succeeded by his Son *Zemomysle*, or *Semomyslaus*.



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THE  
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BOOK I.

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**T**HE Northern Nations had already begun to embrace Christianity ; *Miecslaus* Duke of *Poland*, 965. and *Bohemia* had, for some time, renounced the Errors of Paganism, and *Poland* was converted by a pious Princess. *Dabrowka* the Daughter of *Boleslaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, was the Person by whose Ministration God accomplished this Work. This Lady was determined not to espouse *Miecslaus*, unless he would consent to be baptized. The Prince cauted himself to be instructed in the Truths of her Religion, and when declared himself a Christian, he was

The Poles embrace Christianity.



was desirous that his People should imitate his Example. With this View he became their Apostle; all the Idols were destroyed, and Temples were erected to the true God, on the Ruins of their Altars.

597

*Miecslaus*, some time after his Conversion, sent the Archbishop of *Cracow* to *Rome*, to assure the Pope of his Obedience, and to demand from him a Donation of the Regal Crown; but *Benedict VII.* gave the preference to *Stephen Duke of Hungary*, by whom he had been equally solicited for the same Gift. This Conduct of the Pope either sprung from some prejudice he had entertained against *Miecslaus*, or perhaps he had already heard of the Death of that Prince.

*Boleslaus*  
*Chabry*, or  
the Great  
1st King of  
*Poland*.

999

He was succeeded by his Son *Boleslaus*, who was advanced to Years of Maturity when he ascended the Throne. His Courage was never abated by any Difficulties, and the severest Toils of War constituted his Pleasures. He had the Abilities of a Chief and a Soldier, and knew how to command and execute at the same time. He appeared magnificent in Publick, and whenever it was requisite for him to assume the Air of a great Prince; his more private Conduct was soften'd with an Air of Affability, and he beheld himself respected and beloved by his People, whom he treated more like a Father than a Sovereign. His Renown was so great, that *Otbo* the third came into *Poland*, as well to offer him his Alliance, as to accomplish a Vow he had made to the Martyr St. *Adelbert*, or *Albert*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*. The Emperor was so well satisfied with his Reception, and likewise with the Magnificence of *Boleslaus*, that he thought it incumbent on him to testify his Acknowledgements to him by some honourable Return, that might correspond with the Treatment

Treatment he had received in the Territories of this Prince. He accordingly Crowned him King of *Poland*, and gave him the imperial Eagle, in a Field Gules, for his Arms. The two Princes afterwards confirmed their new Alliance, by the Marriage of *Rixa*, or *Rische*, Daughter of *Godfrey*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Niece of the Emperor, with *Miecslaus* the Son of *Boleslaus*.

The *Bobemians* could not, without Jealousy, behold the new Degree of Elevation, which the King of *Poland* had acquired, and as they thought themselves not inferior to the *Poles*, they imagined the Glory of that Kingdom was a Stain in that of their own; to efface which they inconsiderately engaged their Duke *Boleslaus* in a War, which proved fatal to him. The Duke of *Bobemia* enter'd *Poland*, without having any just pretext for Complaint, and carried the Devastations of Fire and Sword thro' all those Places into which he was capable of penetrating. An Invasion so unexpected and unjust, merited a speedy Revenge, and yet the King thought it proper to suspend it, at that time, and to send Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bobemia*, to know his Motives for such a sudden Infraction of the Peace. A Truce was agreed to, but this the *Bobemians* soon broke, and enter'd *Poland* a second time, where they repeated their former Ravages. The King took to Horse at this Intelligence, and marched against them, but they were too much intimidated to wait his Arrival. They no sooner heard of his approach, but they had Recourse to Flight, and they retired into their own Country, with their Booty, and a great Number of Prisoners.

The War  
with *Bobemia*, 1002.

The King did not think it expedient to pursue them, either because he wanted Provisions, or else on Account of the bad Season, but his Revenge

venge was not the less effectual by being deferr'd. When he had compleated all his Preparations, he placed himself at the Head of a gallant Army, and advanced into *Bobemia*, with an Intention either to conquer it or make it his Grave. The Enemy wanted Resolution to confront so formidable a Power, and they left him Master of the Field; neither the Ravages, which were committed by the *Polish* Troops, nor the Conquest and Destruction of their Cities, could induce them to hazard an Engagement. *Prague* was taken after a Siege of two Years, and abandon'd to Plunder. Every Place yielded to this victorious Prince, but he thought he could not properly repute himself Master of *Bobemia*, 'till he had the Duke in his Power. This Prince had shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Wissigrod*, with his Son *Jaromir*, and was there determin'd to sustain all the Efforts of the King. This Place was soon invested, and as the War was to be decided by the Event of that Siege, it proved a powerful Motive to a vigorous Assault, and an equal but unavailing Resistance. The besieged were compelled to yield to the Fortune of the *Polish* Arms; the Place was carried, and the Duke with his Son were made Prisoners of War. The Conquest of *Moravia* succeeded that of *Bobemia*, and the King's Tenderness to the vanquished People confirmed to him the Acquisitions of his Valour.

The Victories of *Boleslaus*, and the Conquest of *Bobemia* and *Moravia*.

The Generosity of his Mind and his Inclination to succour the Distressed, soon after engaged him in a more difficult War, but which his great Abilities caused him to finish with equal Glory. In order to gain a right Conception of this Event, it will be necessary to ascend a little higher, and give some Idea of the State of the *Russian* or *Muscovite* Empire at that Time.

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*Wolodomir* Duke of *Russia* endeavoured, by a <sup>The War with *Russia*.</sup> Partition of his Territories, to prevent the Divisions that might otherwise be created between his Sons, after his Death. His Precautions were, however, ineffectual, and the Expedient to which he had Recourse for the Preservation of Peace, was the very Circumstance which kindled a War. *Jaroslaus*, who aspired to the Sovereignty of *Kiowia*, being exasperated to find himself defeated in his Views, by the Dispositions which his Father had made, took up Arms against him, and made himself Master of that City, and the Treasures it contained. The old Duke soon appear'd in the Field, with an Intention to punish his Son, and to drive him from *Kiowia*: But the Fatigues of the War, in Conjunction with the Inquietude he sustain'd by this Revolt, obliged him to stop at *Bereslow*, where he died a few Days after. *Borisz* and *Suantopelk*, two of his other Sons, had taken upon themselves the Conduct of the Army in his Absence, without receiving any Intelligence of their Father's Death, and they fought with so much Bravery as acquired them a compleat Victory over *Jaroslaus*. *Suantopelk* was the only Gainer by this Event, for he made himself Master of *Kiowia*, and, to secure himself in the Possession of it, he caused *Borisz*, of whose Pretensions he was apprehensive, to be assassinated. When he had succeeded in this first Crime, he attempted a second, and employed the same Expedient to rid himself of *Gleb* his Brother, in order to invade his Dominions.

*Jaroslaus* was not discouraged by his first Defeat, but repaired his Losses, and soon appeared at the Head of a more potent Army. *Suantopelk* advanced to meet him, and the two Brothers confronted each other on the Banks of the *Borysthenes*.

1008.



*rysthenes*. The two Armies were separated by this River, whose Breadth and Rapidity afforded them a common Intrenchment, and the utmost Danger threatned him who should first attempt to pass it. *Suantopelk*, who had no Inclination to hazard himself in that manner, was content to keep himself upon the defensive, in order to which, he encamped on the Bank of the River, and fortified himself in that Situation, in a full Belief that the Stream would furnish him with a sufficient Barrier against his Enemy. This Persuasion seduced him into a dangerous Security, in Consequence of which he left his Camp unguarded. *Jaroslav* took the Advantage of his Imprecaution, and the Desire of avenging the Death of his Brothers, as well as his own Defeat, caused him to practise all possible Expedients for passing the River. He at last succeeded in his Design, and *Suantopelk* being surpris'd in the Midst of his Fortifications, placed all his Safety in Flight, and retired into *Poland*.

He there found a powerful Protector. The King, deceived by the Artifice of *Suantopelk*, promised to reinstate him in his Dominions. He accordingly entred *Russia*, and conquer'd all the Country that extends as far as the River *Bog*. *Jaroslav* was posted on the other Bank, in order to oppose the King's Passage, which he disputed with him for several Days: But the King, prompted at last by his own Intrepidity, was determined not to suffer any longer Delay, and, as dangerous as the Action might appear, he exposed himself to the Rapidity of the Torrent, in order to advance to the Enemy on the other Side. They were astonished at so daring an Attempt, but being likewise re-animated by the Presence of their Prince, who discharged the Functions of a Chief and a Soldier, they bravely disputed the

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Victory; notwithstanding which they were compell'd to yield to a more potent and experienced Conqueror. They fell back by Degrees, and their Retreat was soon changed into Flight.

The King was capable of improving this Victory, and having received Information that *Jaroslaus* had retired, after his Defeat, to *Kiovia*, with the shatter'd Remains of his Troops, his first Design was to besiege him in that Place, and with that View he was as expeditious as possible. But *Jaroslaus* was either too expert, or had a better Opinion of the Activity of his Foe, than to suffer himself to be shut up in that manner, and therefore made a Retreat, before the Arrival of the *Polish* Forces. The Place was, however, invested, and the King being informed that Provisions began to be scarce, contented himself with a strict Blockade, in order to reduce it by Famine, without hazarding the Lives of his Soldiers. The Besieged suffer'd all the cruel Effects of Famine, but their Steadiness was unavailing, and they were obliged to capitulate for the Preservation of their Lives, which they resigned to the Discretion of the Conqueror. The Ducal Castle was incapable of a long Resistance, after the taking of the City, and those immense Treasures, which had been amassed there by the Dukes of *Russia*, became the Booty of the *Poles*.

The Conquest of *Russia*.

The King, after this Expedition, disposed his Troops into Winter Quarters, in the Parts adjacent to *Kiovia*, where he continued in Person with *Suantopelk*, whom he had re-established on the Throne, tho' *Jaroslaus* still disputed it with him. He had still a Reserve of Friends, and he was informed, by the Intelligence he maintained in *Kiovia*, of all the Proceedings of the King. And knowing that he continued in that City with a small Body of Troops, he secretly formed a flying

a flying Camp, with an Intention either to carry him off by Surprise, or cause him to be slain. The Plot however happen'd to be detected; the King had Time to assemble Part of his Army; he pursued *Jaroslaus*; past the *Borysthenes* in his View; forced his Camp, and cut his Troops in Pieces in the Midst of their Intrenchments. *Jaroslaus* was so fortunate as to escape with a Body of Horse to *Novogrod*; from whence he afterwards would have retreated, for Fear of a Siege; but he was animated to continue there by the Inhabitants, who left nothing unattempted to re-establish the Fortune of their Prince. They raised Troops, and charged themselves with a voluntary Tax in order to pay them. And yet the Remembrance of the last Defeat made them apprehensive of a second, and all their Preparations remain'd without Effect.

The Perfidy  
of *Suantopelk*.

The Services which *Suantopelk* had received from the King of Poland, ought to have affected him with the most grateful Impressions; and yet he no sooner imagined he no longer needed the Assistance of the *Poles*, than he began to consider them as his greatest Enemies, and he endeavour'd to rid them from his Dominion by a most inhuman Method. His Intention was to massacre those gallant Soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his Crown and Life. The Execution of this Barbarity was already begun, when the King received Intelligence of the black Conspiracy. He immediately took to Horse, and assembled Part of his Army with all Expedition. The Moment he appear'd, the perfidious *Suantopelk* became too intimidated to support his Crime by Arms; and had Recourse to Flight upon the Approach of the *Polish* Troops. The King enter'd *Kiovia*, as into an Enemies Town which had surrendred at Discretion, and every Part  
of

of it was pillaged and sacked. The *Poles* marched back to their own Country, charged with the Spoils of all *Russia*, and even signaliz'd their Retreat by a new Victory.

*Jaroslaus* had acquired new Succours from the Fidelity of the Inhabitants of *Novogrod*; and seeing himself at the Head of a potent Army, he thought himself in a Condition to divest the *Poles* of the Booty with which they were loaded. As he was perfectly acquainted with the Situation of the Country, he concealed his March, and pursued them with so much Secrecy that they had no Suspicion of his Approach. His Intention was to surprise them amidst their greatest Security, and when they should be engaged in some incommodious Place. The King had already arrived at the Banks of the *Borysthenes*, and had almost reached the Frontiers of his own Dominions; and as he imagined the Enemy was either vanquished, or very remote from him, he dismissed Part of his Troops, and the rest were preparing to pass the River, when the Centinels gave the Alarm at the Noise of the Army of *Jaroslaus* which then began to appear. The King concealed his Sentiments of the Danger, and his Prudence became as necessary to him as his Intrepidity, in this Conjunction. He rallied his Troops, encouraged the Leaders, and animated the Soldiers: And when they kindled into a martial Warmth, he prevented the Foe, and advanced against those who expected to surprise him. The two Armies joined in Battle, and the King, at the Head of a chosen Batallion, broke into the Enemies Ranks, and bore down all who opposed him. *Jaroslaus* was also formidable in his Turn, and the two Chiefs were equally victorious wherever they appear'd. But after

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the Engagement had continued for some Hours, the *Russian* Ardour began to be gradually extinguish'd. This was soon perceived by the King, and he then charged them with new Vigour. He threw himself into the thickest Throng with his Sabre in his Hand; forced himself a Passage through the Troops that confronted him, and in a few Moments broke in upon them from all Quarters. The Ranks were disconcerted; the Victory was awhile retarded by Numbers, but all Opposition was at last unavailing. *Jaroslav* betook himself to Flight, and ingloriously quitted the Ensigns of his Dignity, amidst his Apprehensions of falling into the Hands of his Enemies. The Defeat then became general, and it was no longer an Encounter, but a dreadful Carnage. Thus did the *Poles* formerly triumph over the *Russians*, who have since become their Masters and Oppressors.

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*Jaroslav* had still those Resources that were considerable enough to repair all his Losses; and he appear'd the following Year in the Field, in order to crush the treacherous *Suantopelk*, who was no longer assisted by the *Poles*. He defeated him in two Battles, and obliged him to fly, after which he divested him of his Dominions. *Suantopelk*, in this Extremity, had an Inclination to throw himself once over into the Arms of the King of *Poland*, and to implore the Protection of a Prince he had treated with so much Indignity. The King, either from the Motives of his Goodness, or else from political Inducements, determined to renew his Engagements with him, and prepared to re-enter *Russia*, in order to establish him once more upon the Throne, but this Enterprize was broke off by the Death of  
*Suantopelk*,



*Suantopelk*, which happen'd at the Time when those Preparations were making.

*Bretislaus*, the Son of *Vislaus* Duke of *Potocko*, undertook to avenge the Defeat and Death of his Uncle *Suantopelk*, and the young Prince was successful in his first Attempts. He conquer'd all the Duchy of *Novogrod*. and made himself Master of the City that bears that Name. But *Jaroslaus*, who waited for him at his Return, defeated him on the Banks of the River *Sadmir*, and easily regained all he had lost.

At last *Jaroslaus*, who 'till then had never yielded to the *Poles*, and whose Ambition seemed to be extended to all the Dominions of *Woldomir* his Father, met with an Enemy more dextrous, or at least more fortunate, than himself.

His Brother *Miecslaus* imagined it would be his Interest to oppose the Progress of so formidable a Power, and restrain it within due Bounds. He therefore declared War against *Jaroslaus*, gain'd two great Victories over him, and made himself Master of *Kiovia*. Ambition was not his Motive for taking up Arms against his Brother. He was satisfied with having humbled *Jaroslaus*, and with making him sensible, that it was possible to conquer him, for which Reason he generously restored him all he had wrested from him, and only reserved to himself the Glory of so disinterested a Victory.

The *Russian* War having been brought to so fortunate a Period, the King was apprehensive lest a State of Peace should enervate the Courage of his Soldiers; in order therefore to continue them in the Habitude of being victorious, he determined to carry the War into *Saxony*. The *Saxons* had 'till then been free, but they were at last compelled to receive the Laws of *Boleslaus* the Great. The Terror of his Name had pre-



ceded his March, and to such a Degree as intimidated the Enemy from advancing to meet him, and they retired into impenetrable Woods. The *Poles* ravaged all their Country, and acquired a considerable Booty. The King, in his Return from this Expedition, halted on the Banks of the *Elb*, and caused two Columns of Iron to be erected, as well for an eternal Monument of his Conquests, as to fix the Frontiers of his Kingdom.

*Pomerania* and *Prussia* were likewise sensible of the Force of his Arms. The first of these Provinces had been dismembred from the Kingdom of *Poland*. It was the prevailing Opinion that *Lezsko* the Third had consigned the Sovereignty of it to several of his natural Sons, to hold it as Vassals to that Crown; but that these petty Princes had afterwards revolted, and, taking Advantage either of the Disorders in the State or the Weakness of the Kings, had supported themselves in their Independency for a considerable Time. *Boleslaus* the Great compelled them to acknowledge him for their Lord, but as he considered them, at the same Time, as ancient Friends, he only required Fealty and Homage from them, without any Tribute. *Prussia* was likewise constrain'd to receive his Laws, and to pay him the Tribute he thought fit to impose upon them.

When he had established Tranquillity in *Poland* by the Defeat of her Enemies, he caused his People to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories for some Years; he was sedulous to regulate the Administration in the interior Parts of his Kingdom: He made Laws, and employed his Endeavours to create Obedience to them. But this happy Calm was interrupted by a new War, kindled by *Jaroslous* Duke of *Russia*. The Devastation which the *Poles* had committed in his

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Dominions; the Series of their Victories, and the Damages they had occasion'd in his capital City, which they had taken and sack'd, render'd him an implacable Enemy to *Poland*, and he had long been making Preparations for a Vengeance which he at last display'd. His formidable Power seem'd to be irresistible, his Army was exceeding numerous, and his military Preparations entirely corresponded with the Number of his Forces. *Boleslaus* the Great was not intimidated at this Proceeding, and he had Troops who were prepared to oppose the Enemy. When he received Intelligence that *Jaroslaws* had taken the Field, he likewise appear'd there himself, and when he had taken all the necessary Precautions for the Security of his Towns, he marched towards *Russia*, with an Intention either to prevent the Enemy, or to make a powerful Diversion in their Country, if they should happen to penetrate into *Poland*. The two Princes confronted each other on the Banks of the *Borysthenes*, which had already been render'd famous by the Defeat of *Jaroslaws*. The King order'd his Troops to halt, in order to take some Refreshment, but Chance, in Conjunction with the Animosity of the two Parties, immediately drew on a general Engagement. As the Servants of the *Polish* Army were watering their Horses in the River, they were insulted by the Soldiers of the Enemy, upon which the *Poles* advanced to the Assistance of their Men. They at first moved on in small Bodies, and as they were drawn together by Accident, their Number was continually increasing. The Enemy likewise assembled on their Side, with loud Shouts, and the Soldiers of both Armies betook themselves to Arms in the utmost Rage. The Chiefs were obliged to follow their Troops, and the *Poles*, who were more active

than their Adversaries, threw themselves into the River, past to the opposite Bank by swimming, and warmly attacked their Enemies who were still unarm'd. The first Ranks were soon broken, the *Russians* had recourse to Flight, and carried the Alarm into their Camp. The whole Army was seized with a panic Terror, and nothing could stop their Flight. *Jaroslavus*, amidst the Confusion and Despair that seized him when he found himself vanquished, without a Possibility of coming to an Engagement, was compell'd to abandon his Camp and Baggage, and to accompany his Troops in their Flight.

They were pursued by the *Poles* with the utmost Vigour, and the King having expressly prohibited all Slaughter, the Number of the Prisoners exceeded that of the Victors. He made himself Master of all *Russia*, but it may be affirmed, that he acted with so much Moderation, that the Submission of the *Russians* was rather the Effect of their Inclinations than of Conquest. *Jaroslavus* sued for Peace, and obtain'd it on easy Terms. The Prisoners were sent back without Ransom, and *Boleslaus*, being satisfied with a moderate Tribute, had the Address to calm, by a prudent Clemency, the impetuous Dispositions of those warlike People, whom neither the Force of his Arms, nor his repeated Conquests had been able to quell.

1025.

71. Death  
of *Boleslaus*.

*Poland*, after this Victory, had no longer any Enemies who durst oppose her, and the whole Nation enjoyed a profound Peace during the Life of *Boleslaus*. This great Prince died at the Age of Fifty Eight Years, and after a Reign of Twenty Five. He was succeeded by *Miecslaus* his Son, who was crowned at *Gnesna*, by the Archbishop of that City. About this Time died the Empe-

ror

ror *Henry of Bavaria*, whom the Church has ranked in the Class of its Saints, and his Son *Conrade* was his Successor in the Empire.

The Death of *Boleslaus* the Great was like a Signal to a general Commotion; and the Fero-<sup>1026.</sup> *Miecslaus II.* city of the conquer'd People, being no longer checkt by that Barrier, broke forth with the utmost Violence. *Russia, Bohemia, Moravia, Pomerania* and *Saxony* combined, almost at the same Time, to free themselves from the Tribute that had been impos'd upon them.

*Jaroslous* and *Miecslaus* his Brother, Dukes of *Russia*, were the first who appear'd in the Field: They forced the Frontiers of *Poland*, besieged and took *Czerwiensko*, and some other small Towns, and carried off the Inhabitants into the Palatinate of *Kiovia*. The Revolt would have been general, if the new King had not soon marched into *Russia* with a numerous Army, and seized several Lords of that Country, as Hostages for the Fidelity of the People; by which Expedient he extinguished the Sparks of a Rebellion which would have divested him of all that Province.

The Revolt of *Bohemia* was attended with fatal Events. *Udalric* the Second, Son of the Duke of *Bohemia*, having been deliver'd up to *Boleslaus* the Great, after he had conquer'd that Country was consider'd in *Poland* rather as the Son of an unfortunate Prince, than as a vanquish'd and captive Enemy. The King caused him to be educated in his Court, with all the Attention that was due to his Birth, and was continually conferring Favours upon him. *Udalric* seem'd to be affected with Gratitude, and this artful and insinuating Person had the Address to conceal his Ambition, under the exterior Appearance of

The Revolt  
of *Bohemia*.



the most respectful Submission. *Boleslaus* suffer'd himself to be so fully persuaded of the Attachment of this Prince, that he permitted him to retire into *Bobemia*, and furnished him with every thing necessary to support his Rank in that Country.

As great as these Obligations were in themselves, they were no equivalent for a Crown, and a Conqueror is always a Foe. *Udalric*, upon his Arrival in *Bobemia*, looked upon that Province as a Patrimony which had been unjustly usurped from him, and employed all his Thoughts to regain it. He had recourse to secret and different Methods to rid himself of the Lords who adhered to the *Polish* Party; and indirectly spirited up the Inclinations of those who were well affected to his House; in a Word, he disposed all Things for a general Insurrection. He had long waited for a favourable Conjunction, and it was now presented to him by the Death of *Boleslaus*, and the Absence of *Miecslaus*, who was then in *Russia*. He caused his Son *Bretislaus* to assume the Title of Duke of *Bobemia*, and refused the Payment of the usual Tribute. The People took up Arms, and the *Polish* Garrisons, being left defenceless, were either massacred or compelled to fly.

7228.

The same Spirit which kindled this Revolt, was soon diffused through *Moravia*. *Bretislaus* entred it with his Troops, but, at the same Time, placed more Confidence in the Intelligence he maintained there, than he did in his own Forces. The Inhabitants of the Country had already entred into a Treaty with him, and the Conspiracy had been conducted in such a secret Manner, that the *Poles* beheld themselves suddenly attack'd by the People of that Country, in Conjunction



junction with a foreign Enemy, without being in any Condition to defend themselves. In vain did these unhappy Soldiers implore the Assistance of their Prince. The weak *Miecslaus* beheld all these Revolutions with an Air of Indifference, and left these his Garrisons exposed to the Fury of those barbarous Nations, so that they were either massacred like a common Enemy, or sold as Slaves.

*Miecslaus* did not possess any of the great Qualities that were so conspicuous in his Father. His Indolence and Debaucheries render'd him contemptible to his Subjects. *Bohemia* and *Moravia* had already revolted with Impunity, and the Provinces that were adjacent to *Germany*, imagined they were as capable as the rest, to free themselves from the Yoke of that effeminate and voluptuous Prince. The Governours assumed the Title of Sovereigns of the places that had been confided to their Care, and by the Aid of the *Germans*, with whom they had been united by Commerce and Intermarriages, they supported themselves in their Usurpations. The Marquisate of *Brandenburg* is formed out of several of these Principalities, which were united by the Lords of the Country, either by the Means of Dexterity, or by force of Arms. *Pomerania* had also an Independent Prince.

1030.

The *Polish* Lords, when they received Intelligence of these proceedings, employed their utmost endeavours to awake *Miecslaus* from his Lethargy, and to engage him to quit his Palace. Their Reproaches, in Conjunction with the Apprehensions this Prince entertain'd of a general Rebellion, were more persuasive with him, than either his Courage or the Consideration of his own Glory. Three Princes of *Hungary* attended him in this Expedition. The Insolence of the *Pomerani-*

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ans was quelled, and those who headed the Rebels were punished with Death. The *Poles* owed their Conquest to the Courage and Conduct of *Bela*, one of the three *Hungarian* Lords. Some Authors declare that he killed, in single Combat, the New Duke whom the Inhabitants of *Pomerania* had elected. *Miecslaus* induced by Gratitude, and the Confidence he reposed in the Fidelity of *Bela*, gave him the Government of that Country, with the Title of Duke, and his own Daughter in Marriage.

1034.  
The Death  
of *Miecslaus*.

*Miecslaus*, when this Expedition was compleated, shut himself up in his Palace, and devoted himself anew to his Pleasures : but they proved fatal to him in the Event, and his immoderate Debauches soon laid him in the Grave. He was seized with a kind of Frenzy, whose Rage was incapable of any Mitigation, and he died the Fifteenth of *March*, in this Year, very little regretted by his Subjects.

1035.

The Contempt which the People had entertain'd for *Miecslaus*, was extended even to his Son *Casimir*, and they were apprehensive lest he should devote himself to the same Vices, and prove as voluptuous as his Father. The Lords therefore, conceived it proper to suspend his Election and Coronation, without excluding him entirely from the Throne. During his Minority, the Administration of Affairs was consigned to *Rixa*, the Mother of the young Prince, and the Daughter of *Godfrey* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. But the Regent exasperated the People yet more, by her imperious Conduct, and her unjust Preference of the *Germans*, to the *Poles*. She would never be prevailed upon to suppress some odious Imposts, which had been introduced by *Miecslaus*,  
and

and she advanced Persons of her Nation to all Offices in the State. The People were overwhelmed with Exactions ; the Administration of Affairs was in the hands of Strangers, who alone disposed of every thing. In vain were Remonstrances made to her, on the Subject of such just Complaints ; she refused to hear them, and treated those who came to offer them, with a contemptuous Pride. This Inflexibility, at last, dissolved the feeble Bands that united the *Poles* to their Sovereign.

The Regent was at last banished, and obliged to seek an Asylum out of the *Polish* Dominions. She carried with her those immense Treasures, that were acquired by the Victories of *Boleslaus* the great, and placed herself, and her Son, under the Protection of the Emperor. This Prince gave them an honourable Reception, and promised them a speedy Vengeance. He even caused Troops to advance to the Frontiers of *Poland*, but it was rather with a view to save Appearances, than to employ any Efforts sufficient to reestablish *Casimir* on the Throne of his Father.

1036.  
The Regent  
is expell'd  
the Country,

It is equally the Interest of Sovereigns and Subjects to acquit themselves of their reciprocal Obligations to each other, and from which their Union results ; when this Intercourse, which causes Kings to be respected, and constitutes the happiness of a People, is once disconcerted, their Divisions are equally fatal to them both. *Rixa*, by exerting the Authority with which she had been entrusted, in too imperious a manner, divested her Son of a Crown, and the *Poles*, who were immoderately jealous of their Prerogatives, banished their Prince, and in consequence of that proceeding, degenerated into a State of Anarchy, which occasion'd

1037  
A Civil War  
in Poland.

innu-

innumerable Disorders. Each particular Lord form'd equal Pretensions to the Supreme Power, or, at least, was desirous of preserving himself in a state of Independency. Hence it was, that the Laws were disregarded, and Crimes were committed with Impunity. All Command and Subjection entirely ceased, and Discord was diffused thro' all the Provinces. *Maslus*, a private Officer under King *Miecslaus*, fixed himself in the Palatinate of *Plosko*; and a Number of other Tyrants established themselves in every part of the Kingdom. They were equally inveterate against each other, and the noblest Blood of *Poland* was shed in their Quarrels. The Nobility oppressed the Peasants with Taxes, and these injured People having no opportunity of imploring Redress from a lawful Power, conspired against the Nobles, and had Recourse to Arms, to defend themselves from Oppression. The Peasants, being no longer permitted to enjoy the Fruit of their Toils, betook themselves to Robbery, and elected Chiefs out of their own Body. The Publick Roads were no longer passable in Safety; no Asylum was any security from their Depredations; and they attacked even Towns and Cities. The Republick was in as dangerous a Situation as the State, and Paganism, which had long been laid low, made its last Efforts to erect its Altars anew. The Churches were plunder'd, and it was with Difficulty that the Bishops escaped the Rage of these impious Wretches. The sacred Vessels were destroy'd, and there were even some Lords who had the Presumption to propose an utter Extinction of Christianity, in order to reestablish the Worship of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, whom *Poland* had formerly adored, under the Appellations of *Jessa*, and *Liada*.



The Irrup-  
tion of the  
*Bobemians.*

A foreign War soon compleated the Calamities of this Kingdom. The *Bobemians*, its antient Enemies, improved these intestine Divisions, in order to avenge their former Defeats, and to give Chains to those by whom they had been so often vanquished. *Bretislaus*, with this View, enter'd *Poland*; the Frontiers of which had been open'd to him by the civil War, and it was now in a Condition to be conquer'd by its weakest Enemies. *Wratislaw*, and *Posnan*, vainly sustain'd a Siege, *Bretislaus* made himself Master of those Cities, and abandon'd them to Pillage and Fire. *Gnesna*, which was exposed from every Quarter, and unprovided with Fortifications, was incapable of Resistance, and was therefore entirely plunder'd and sacked. The unhappy Citizens were either murder'd or reduced to a wretched state of Slavery. The unrelenting Soldier satiated his Brutality and his Avarice; the Churches were profaned, and their Altars overthrown. The Ministers of Religion were tortur'd, in order to make them confess where the Chest and the Body of St. *Adalbert* were deposited, and they were saved by a meer Miracle from the Avidity of the Conqueror. In a Word, *Gnesna* experienced all the calamitous and dreadful Effects of War, and *Bretislaus* did not withdraw his Troops from that City, till he had renderd it a Scene of Desolation, and he carried off an infinite Number of Prisoners of all Ranks, which he disperfed in Colonies thro' his Dominions.

*Jaroslaus* marched into *Poland*, much about the same time, from another Quarter, and the Irruption of the *Russians* was as cruel as that of the *Bobemians*. Whatever had escaped the Fury and Avarice of the last, became the Prey of *Jaroslaus*. He depopulated the Duchy of *Mazovia* with Fire and Sword, and

1039.



and did not retreat from that Country, till he had nothing more to plunder.

The Popes were then endeavouring to establish their Authority over the temporal Jurisdiction of Kings, and assumed a Prerogative to judge of their Differences. When a Prince was destitute of Forces to resist an Enemy, he gain'd a formidable protection at *Rome*, and was aided with Thunders that were sometimes much more potent than the most numerous Armies. The *Poles* had recourse to these Aids, and by the Advice of *Stephen* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, dispatched a memorable Embassy to *Rome*, to accuse *Bretislaus* Duke of *Bohemia* with Sacrilege, and other Instances of Impiety, and to complain of the Devastations he had made in *Poland*, without any Distinction of sacred things from prophane. The Ambassadors had, at first, a favourable Audience, rather because it was the Interest of the Popes to receive all kinds of Complaints, and to efface by Degrees, the Ideas that might be formed of the Incompetency of their Tribunal, with relation to such Affairs, than with any view to render due Justice to *Poland*. *Bretislaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, and *Severus* Bishop of *Prague*, were cited to appear at *Rome*. Their Envoys, who seem'd to be apprehensive of of an Excommunication, promised, in the Name their Masters, a full Restitution of all that had been taken from the Metropolitan Church of *Gnesna*, and the other Churches of that Kingdom, and to repair the Damages sustain'd by the War. But a Number of Springs were secretly put in Motion, Sums of Gold were distributed with a judicious Prodigality, and they produced their usual Effect, since the Ministers of the Court of *Rome* were incapable of resisting the Lustre it presented to their View.

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The Church at that time sustain'd a fatal Scandal, by the Intrusion of *Benedict IX.* into St. *Peter's* Chair. The Youth of this Pope and his Necessity for Money, to oppose two Competitors, and gratify those who were devoted to his Interest, were very favourable Conjunctions to the *Bohemians*. The Decree of Citation, and the Promises made by the Envoys of the Duke of *Bohemia* were entirely forgotten, and *Rome*, who has so much ardour to be obeyed when she is not corrupted by Money, took no Measures, at that time, for the Execution of her Decrees.

The civil War continued to rage in *Poland* with the same Violence. The Interruption of Commerce, the Flight of the *Peasants*, who left the Country desert and uncultivated, the Conflagration and Ruin of the principal Cities, were but faint Instances of the Calamities in which that Kingdom was then involved. Harassed by tyrannical Men, who gave a Loose to their lawless Conduct in her very Bosom, invaded by the neighbouring Nations, from without, and who enter'd it with a Kind of Emulation, as a common Conquest, it was ready to receive the Laws of the first Tyrant who would condescend to establish himself in those Territories. Some of the Nobility united, at last, to consider of some proper Expedient for the Extinction of these Disorders. They all acknowledged that a Prince was necessary for *Poland*, but their Views were different with respect to that Choice. Some gave their Suffrage for a neighbouring Prince, others declared in favour either of themselves, or some Lord of the Kingdom: the greatest Number of them, supported by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, were of Opinion, that it would be necessary to recall *Casimir*: And, indeed, it was dangerous to offer the Throne to a neighbouring Prince, whose  
particular

particular Interest, might, possibly, be opposite to that of the Nation ; On the other Hand, it was altogether as hazardous to confer the Regal Dignity on a *Polish* Lord, who would want sufficient Power and Authority to cause himself to be respected, and there was reason to be apprehensive, that an Election of this nature would rekindle the Civil War which they proposed to extinguish. These Considerations united all the Suffrages in favour of the Grandson of *Boleslaus* the Great. They no longer consider'd *Casimir* as the Son of *Miecslaus* and *Rixa*, but rather as the Decendant of a King, who had established the Glory and Happiness of *Poland*, and whom the present Calamities had recalled more effectually to their Remembrance.

The young Prince had been absent from that Kingdom for the Space of five Years, and the *Poles* were unacquainted with the place of his Retreat. Ambassadors were therefore dispatched to *Rixa* his Mother, who had then retired to *Brunswick*, to desire her to inform them of the Place where her Son resided. *Casimir* had privately retired into *France*, and applied himself to his Studies at *Paris*, in that famous University, which is the Mother of all the rest. He afterwards past into *Italy*, where *St. Romuald* had prevailed upon him to become a Monk. After which he returned into *France*, and retired into the Abby of *Clugni*, where he had received the *Monastic Habit* and a *Deaconship* of that Church.

1040

The Ambassadors came to seek him in that Retreat, and paid their Homage to him as their King : but *Casimir* was no longer Master of his own Liberty, and the Engagement to which he had subjected himself, rendred him incapable of wearing the Crown. It was necessary, therefore, to have Recourse to the Pope, for a Dispensation. The Case was of an extraordinary Nature, and it will

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will always be surprising to see a young Prince, expelled from his Dominions, and invested with the Habit of a Monk, afterwards quit his Cloister to reascend the Throne. *Benedict IX.* whom we have already mention'd, was touched with Compassion, when the Desolation and Calamities of *Poland* were related to him; and the necessity there was for crowning *Casimir*, seemed to him a sufficient inducement to discharge the Prince from his Engagements. However, the Dispensation was not gratuitous, and one of the first Conditions on which it was accorded, was his consenting to submit to an Apostolic Tax, called *St. Peters Pence*; and which all the *Poles* should be obliged to pay by Capitation. The holy Father likewise insisted on their promise to shave their Heads and Beards, like the rest of the *Roman Catholics*, and to wear a white Linen Stole about their Necks, at all the principal Festivals in the Year. These three Conditions were executed with the greatest punctuality.

Some Historians assure us, that this Dispensation was granted by *Clement II.* and this contrariety among them was occasion'd by the Number of those who pretended to the Papacy, and by the Confusion which was then introduced by that Schism. It is certain that *Benedict IX.* was but twelve Years of Age when he ascended the Chair of *St. Peter*. This young Pope was, however, acknowledged, tho' he afterwards was divested of his Dignity, and the Bishop of *Sabina*, who assumed the Name of *Sylvester*, was elected in his Place; some time after which *Benedict* regained the Pontificate, but he was obliged, a second time, to resign in favour of the Archbishop of the Church of *St. John Porta Latina*, who took the Name of *Gregory VI.* Till at last the Emperor *Henry the third*, having succeeded *Courade*

A Schism  
in the  
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his Father, came into *Italy*, enter'd *Rome*, depos'd this Troop of intruding Popes, and confer'd the Papal Dignity on *Syndeget* Bishop of *Bamberg*, from whom he received the Imperial Crown.

About the same time, *Jaroslau* Duke of *Russia*, who had united in his own Person, all the Dominions of his Father *Wolodomir*, formed a Design to render his Empire still more extensive. He declared War against the *Greek* Emperor, and sent his Son *Wladimir* with a numerous Fleet, to besiege *Constantinople*; but this Enterprize was render'd abortive by a dreadful Tempest. *Wladimir* saved himself, with the utmost Difficulty, from the Wreck, after he had lost part of his Troops, and endeavour'd, in that destitute Condition, to return to *Russia* by Land, with the Remains of his Soldiers: but he was pursued by the *Greeks* who continually harrassed him, without drawing on a general Engagement, by which means they hoped to defeat him entirely by those little Encounters. The *Russians*, who were fatigued, and destitute of Forage and Provisions, and were ready to sink under the Attacks of an Enemy who fled, the Moment they opposed him, were, at last, so fortunate as to find a favourable Conjunction, which compelled the *Greeks* to a Battle. The *Russians* were animated by Despair, and they forced a Victory, which they would have lost, if they had not been almost defeated.

*Casimir* was received by the *Poles*, as a Person who came to restore Peace and Plenty among them. The Bishops and the Nobility advanced to the Frontiers, in Order to receive him, with all the Troops they were in a Condition to assemble, and they conducted him to *Gnesna*, where he was crown'd by *Stephen* Archbishop of that City. Their new Monarch devoted his first Cares to clear his Kingdom from the Robbers that infest-

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ed it. He besieged and demolished their Castles, and their Chiefs were seized, and punished with the utmost Severity. A general Amnesty was granted to the rest, because it was dangerous to punish so great a Number. The Peasants returned to cultivate their Lands; the Merchants engaged anew in Commerce; People of all Ranks, employed themselves in their proper Functions; the Cities were repeopled; civil Society was reestablished; the Laws resumed their Vigour; and if any Rebels were then left, they were only permitted to continue in their Usurpations, in order to be crushed in a more effectual Manner.

When the most pressing Disorders of the State were rectified, the Nobility began to consider the Marriage of their Prince, as an Affair of the greatest Importance, and they prevailed upon him to send Ambassadors to *Jaroslaus* Duke of *Russia* to demand his Sister *Mary* in Marriage. This Princess was the Daughter of *Wolodomir*, and *Ann*, the Sister of *Basilius* and *Constantine*, Emperors of the East; and tho' she had been educated in the *Greek* Religion, the Difference in Rites was no Obstruction to *Casimir*. Good Politicks, and the Welfare of the State, in Conjunction with the King's inclination, soon removed all Difficulties, and the Princess *Mary* was consign'd to the Ambassadors, with a large Sum of Money for her Portion. She renounced the Rites of the *Greek* Church, and after a Reiteration of the Ceremonials of her Baptism, through an Apprehension of the Invalidity of that which she had received in *Russia*, where the Priests were but little instructed in the Articles of Religion, she espoused *Casimir*, who, soon after, caused her to be Crowned Queen of *Poland*.

As a long Peace was necessary to this Kingdom, in order to repair the Losses it had sustain'd; *Casimir*

1042.

*simir* neglected no Expedients to procure it. His Marriage with the Sister of the Duke of *Russia*, secured him from any Hostilities from that Quarter: His Mother *Rixa* had gain'd him the Friendship of the *Germans*, and he might justly hope for all imaginable Succors from them. *Bretislaus* Duke of *Bobemia* was the only Enemy of whom he had any Cause to be apprehensive, but the Emperor render'd that Prince incapable of forming any Attempt against *Poland*, and he revenged the Devastations which the *Bobemians* had committed in that Kingdom. Their Duke having submitted to all the Conditions the Emperor thought fit to impose upon him, was obliged to follow his Conqueror to *Ratisbonne*, to pay him Homage for his Dominions, and to restore to *Poland* all the Places he had usurped during the Civil Wars.

The Defeat  
of the Ty-  
rant *Maslas*.

The Duchy of *Mazovia* had not yet acknowledged the Authority of *Casimir*, and *Maslas*, of whom we have already related some particulars, was supported by the Forces of *Prussia*, and persisted in his Revolt. The King at last marched against this Rebel, and, by the Aid of his Brother *Jarosslaus*, defeated the Tyrant of that Province. *Maslas* found an Asylum in *Prussia*, and re-enter'd *Mazovia*, the following Year, with a new Army; but all his Adherents were entirely dissipated by a second Overthrow. The Province submitted to its lawful Prince, and the Usurper having taken Refuge, once more, in *Prussia*, met with the usual Fate of Tyrants, and was killed by the very People whose Succours he employed, to support himself in his Revolt.

1043.

All these Foreign and intestine Wars were at last succeeded by a solid and lasting Peace, and *Casimir* improved this happy Tranquillity, in the Establishment of Religion, and the Cultivation of  
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the Sciences, of which the Cloisters were, at that time, the only Repositories. The Nobility look'd upon the Sciences, as a mean and superfluous Employment, and the Commonalty bestowed all their Attention on Agriculture and Commerce. In these times of Ignorance, the Monks were the only Persons, who were capable of distinguishing themselves by some Attainments in Science. They were the Defenders of Religion, and Literature, and are almost the only Canal through which the Traditions and History of our Ancestors have been transmitted to us. *Clugni* was, at that time, one of the most famous Monasteries; the Learning and Sanctity of its Abbots, and the great Persons who had been educated by them, caused this Abby to be respected by all the Christian World, and she counted even Kings and Popes, among the Pupils she had trained up. In a Word, the Lessons she imparted were of equal Use in the Government of a State, and the Vindication of Religion. *Casimir* had received his Education in that Place, and it may be justly said, that he there acquired the Art of reigning as became a Christian Prince. His Gratitude to his Masters, and even the Interest of his Kingdom, were his Inducements to found Monasteries of the same Institution in *Poland*; and in order to compleat this Design, he dispatched some Persons of Repute, with rich Presents to the Abby of *Clugni*, to desire that some of the Monks might be sent to *Poland*. The Abbot, accordingly, sent twelve, and *Casimir*, upon their Arrival, built the Abby of *Tiniez*, on the *Vistula* near *Cracow*. *Aaron* was the first Abbot, and he was afterwards advanced to the Archiepiscopal Throne of the Metropolis of *Poland*.

Whilst Religion was thus receiving its Establishment in *Poland*, and whilst this Kingdom en-



joyed a profound Peace, *Hungary*, divided by a civil War, relapsed almost entirely into Paganism, and its antient Superstitions. *Peter*, the Son of *William* Duke of *Burgundy*, had ascended the Throne of *Hungary*, by the Aid of his Sister *Gisla*, the Widow of King *Stephen*. But the Debaucheries of this Prince, and his Favourites, growing insupportable to the *Hungarians*, they revolted, and Crowned *Abba*.

1046.

The Cruelty of this new Prince, made him as odious as *Peter* had rendred himself by his infamous Pleasures. Several of the Nobility, being in fear of their Lives, retired into *Germany*, to their old King, who had found a Sanctuary in the Court of the Emperor *Henry*, and they solicited their deposed Prince to make some Efforts to reascend his Throne. *Peter* assembled a Body of Troops; the Emperor his Ally, likewise supplied him with Forces, and was even desirous of being the chief in this Expedition. *Abba* was defeated and slain by his own Soldiers, the Kingdom, after his Death, submitted to the Authority of *Peter*, and he resumed the Crown in Royal *Alba*.

1048.

This Prince, however, did not wear it long; for the People, either through an Inconstancy that was natural to them, or in consequence of a new Aversion to their Prince, conspired against him. Their Designs were discovered, and the King punished the three Leaders of the Rebels with Death, and caused the Eyes of the other Conspirators to be plucked out. This bloody Execution exasperated the Nobility to a greater Degree, and they secretly offer'd the Crown to *Andrew*, *Bela* and *Leventa*, the Nephews of King *Stephen*, who had retired into *Poland*, and had proved very serviceable to King *Miecslaus* in the War of *Pomerania*.  
*Bela*,

*Bela* refused their Offers, but *Andrew* and *Leventa* passed into *Hungary*, where, at their Arrival, they revolted against *Peter*, who was taken Prisoner, and condemned to lose his Eyes. His Officers were likewise massacred, three Bishops, and several Priests were cut in Pieces, and a sacrilegious Rage having suddenly infected the whole Nation, the Altars were overturned, the Churches were pillaged, and all the Pagan Superstitions were reestablished.

*Leventa*, who was the Author of this surprising Revolution, was indefatigable to obliterate every Trace of the true Religion; but this impious Prince did not live long enough to accomplish his horrid Designs; an immature Death delivered the *Hungarians* from his Tyranny. *Andrew* his Brother enjoy'd the regal Dignity without any Competitor, and when he saw his Authority sufficiently established, he left nothing unattempted to recover his Subjects to the true Faith, and their Apostasy, being only the Effect of a Popular Emotion, was soon succeeded by Repentance. They reflected with Detestation on their former Fury; Paganism was proscribed, and forgotten, with as much facility as it was before established.

1049.

The Emperor *Henry* had undertaken to avenge the Death of King *Peter* his Ally, and he carried the War into *Hungary*, at two different times, tho' with very little Success. The third Expedition was still more unfortunate than the preceding; the *Hungarians*, who were in no Condition to encounter him in the Field, endeavoured to defeat him by Stratagem. They found Means to draw him into the Country, where they cut off all Provisions and Forage from his Troops. Famine was succeeded by a Pestilence, and Dys-

1050,  
1051,  
1152.  
The Emperor's Expedition into *Hungary*.

sentery, and the Emperor, after he had lost his best Soldiers, was obliged to retreat to *Germany*: But, having entered *Hungary* the fourth time, with a more numerous Army, and his Losses having instructed him in the manner of prosecuting a War in that Country, he filled it with Devastations, and compelled King *Andrew* to submit to him, and supplicate for Peace.

*Leo 9th.*  
made Pope.

The People of *Rome* had yielded to the Emperors the Right of creating their Popes; and *Henry III.* in the Execution of that Convention, had given the Papacy to *Bruno*, Bishop of *Toul* in *Lorrain*, who assumed the Name of *Leo* the Ninth. This Prelate taking a Journey to *Rome*, after his Nomination, in order to be Crowned, passed by the Abby of *Clugni*, where *Hildebrand* the Monk, who afterwards ascended *St. Peter's* Chair, and became so famous, under the Name of *Gregory* the Seventh, persuaded him that his Election was not Canonical, and that the Emperors had no Right to create Popes. *Bruno* immediately quitted the Ensigns of his Dignity, and entered *Rome* without the least Ceremony, and altogether like a private Person. The Clergy and People elected him anew, and he was determined to owe his Elevation to their Suffrages alone.

After the Death of *Leo*, *Benedict* the Ninth had an Inclination to reenter *Rome*, from whence he had been so frequently expelled: but the *Romans* opposed him, and dispatched *Hildebrand* to the Emperor, to request his Nomination of *Gerard* Bishop of *Eichstat*, to the Pontificate. This dexterous Minister succeeded in his Negotiation, and even exceeded his Commission, in an advantageous manner. He caused *Henry* the Fourth to be nominated for the Succession to the Empire, after his Father, and this Action gave People occa-  
sion

sion to say, that the Emperor was so far from having any Right to create Popes, that, on the contrary, the Pope was privileg'd to create the Emperors. If proper Observations had then been made, it would have been easy to have discover'd those Sentiments which *Hildebrand* render'd so conspicuous in the Event, when he was invested with sufficient Authority to enforce them.

The Emperor *Henry III*, died this Year, in the Month of *October*, and his Son *Henry IV*, who was then Seven Years of Age, became his Successor, under the Regency of the Empress *Agnes*. The Death of *Henry* was follow'd by that of *Casimir* King of *Poland*, surnamed the Pacific. This Prince had the Ability to enrich his Kingdom by a long Peace, and, by his Wisdom, he repaired the Losses which Religion, as well as the State, had sustained in the Course of the civil Wars. And tho' he may seem to have prefer'd Repose to the Tumult of War, he signaliz'd his Courage, nevertheless, on several Occasions, and it may be said, that the Peace which he was careful to cultivate, was rather the Effect of his political Prudence, than any Disinclination to War. He died at the Age of Forty Four Years, and after he had reigned Eighteen. He was lamented by all his Subjects, and *Poland* still considers him as one of its greatest Kings. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Posnan*, by the Side of his Uncle *Boleslaus* the Great.

1056.  
The Death  
of *Casimir*.

Some of the Nobility were for deferring the Coronation of *Boleslaus*, but the Memory of his Father *Casimir*, together with the Sollicitations of the Queen his Mother were so prevailing, that the Majority were determined to elect him immediately. He was crowned at *Gnesna*, in the Presence

*Boleslaus II.*  
his Election.



Presence of those Lords who had assisted at the Funeral of the late King.

1659.

The Tranquillity and Power of *Poland* render'd it the Retreat of all unfortunate Princes. *Zaslau* Duke of *Kiovia*, and eldest Son of the famous *Jaroslaus* Duke of *Russia*, being apprehensive of the Fury of his Subjects, who had revolted from him, found an honourable Protection and Asylum in the Court of *Boleslaus*, to whom he was related. During his Absence, his Brother *Suantoslaus* Duke of *Czernibow*, defeated, with no more than 3000 Men, a great Army of *Lithuanians*, who had already ravaged the *Russian* Territories; he made their Duke a Prisoner, and divested them of their Booty: *Wenceslaus*, the youngest Son of *Jaroslaus*, and who had the Duchy of *Smolensko* allotted to him, improved the Revolt of the Subjects of *Zaslau* to his own Advantage; quitted the Prison in which that Prince had confined him for the Space of a Year, and, by the Aid of the Rebels, made himself Master of the Duchy of *Kiovia*.

*Bela*, dissatisfied with his Brother the King of *Hungary*, retired, likewise, into *Poland* with his Wife and Children. This Prince had some Reason to hope, that, after the Death of *Andrew* his Brother, he should ascend the Throne of *Hungary*, which he had entirely abdicated in his Favour, tho' he had just Pretensions to it, as Heir to King *Stephen*: But when *Andrew* beheld himself recognized in that Manner, he engaged the Lords to nominate his Son *Solomon* for his Successor to that Kingdom. *Bela*, having been sent for to be present at that Ceremonial, could not behold it without discovering his Resentment and Pretensions. He represented to the Nobles, who were assembled for the Coronation of

of *Solomon*, the Injustice of his Brother; and he even reproached them, for preferring an Infant of Seven Years of Age before him. After an Action of so extraordinary a Nature, he no longer imagined himself safe in the Dominions of his Brother, for which Reason he immediately withdrew, and used all possible Expedition to secure himself from the Vengeance of that Prince, by recurring to the Protection of *Boleslaus*, who afterwards took up Arms in his Favour, defeated *Andrew*, and caused *Bela* to be crowned King of Hungary.

After the Death of *Spitigna*, Son of *Breteflaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, his Brother *Wratiflaus*, who had retired into *Hungary*, was recalled by the Nobility, who acknowledged him for their Duke. The Mortifications and Difficulties which this Prince had experienced in a long Exile, furnished him with Lessons of Generosity and Humanity. He treated his Brothers *Otho* and *Conrade* like a real Father, and consigned *Moravia* to them as their perpetual Property. *Jaromir*, the youngest of all the Brothers, and who had taken Sanctuary in a Cloister from the Fury of the cruel *Spitigna*, receiving Intelligence of his Death, quitted the Place of his Retreat, and resumed the secular Habit, tho' he had already made the usual Vows. He came to his Brother *Wratiflaus*, who, instead of approving his Conduct, exhorted him to return to a State which he could not quit without a Crime, and he prevailed upon him to receive a Deaconship, in Consequence of the Hopes he gave him of obtaining for him the Bishoprick of *Prague*. This prudent Advice was, however, ineffectual, *Jaromir* soon relapsed into his former Sentiments, and some discontented Lords, who had join'd themselves to him, induced

1061.

induced him to quit his Retreat a second Time; but as he was apprehensive of the Displeasure of his Brother *Wratislaus*, he thought it most advisable to retire into *Poland*, with a great Body of the *Bobemian* Nobility, who accompany'd him in his Flight.

The Irrup-  
tion of the  
*Bobemians*,

*Boleslaus* was induced to receive him into his Dominions, from political Considerations. The Duke of *Bobemia* dreading the Consequences of his Brother's Escape, and being irritated at the Reception he had obtained in the *Polish* Court, looked upon *Boleslaus* as an Enemy, whose Designs it was incumbent on him to prevent. With this View, and without any previous Declaration of War, he marched through the *Hercynian* Forest, enter'd *Poland*, and carried the Devastations of Fire and Sword through all *Silesia*. *Boleslaus*, at the News of this Irruption, formed a flying Camp, and hasten'd to extinguish, with the Blood of his Enemies, the Fires they kindled on his Frontiers. The *Bobemians* were almost surprized by the Activity of his Proceeding, and they had no Expedient, but a Stratagem, to disengage themselves from the Danger that threatned them; for the *Polish* Army, which was every Moment increasing by a Junction of the Peasants, had besieged the *Bobemians* in a Wood, and were making Preparations to force them the next Day. *Wratislaus*, in this Extremity, dispatched one of his Officers to propose a Pacification, but he was sent back in a contemptuous Manner; *Boleslaus* having refused to hear the Proposals he was commission'd to offer. *Wratislaus* employ'd all his Thoughts, to extricate himself from this unpleasant Situation, by a Stratagem: He order'd large Fires to be kindled in his Camp, as if he continued there with his whole Army, and while he was favoured with the Darkeness of the Night, he  
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caused his Troops and Baggage to defile through narrow Ways that were not guarded; and he quitted the Wood with so much Silence, that he had marched to a great Distance, before the *Poles* were sensible of his Retreat. *Boleslaus* pursued him in vain, and was obliged to limit his Revenge to some Reprisals in *Moravia*.

The King made the necessary Dispositions for a more compleat Execution of his Resentment; and marched into *Bohemia*, the next Spring, with all the Forces of *Poland*; but *Wratislaus*, foreseeing that it would be impossible for him to oppose so formidable a Power, had Recourse to Negotiations, to avert the Storm that was ready to burst upon him. This Expedient was successful, and he obtain'd a Peace, tho' with some Difficulty; and in order to render the Alliance between the two Nations more durable, and to dissipate the Suspicions that might be created by *Jaromir's* residing in *Poland*, the King gave his Sister *Swiantoschna* in Marriage to *Wratislaus*, with a rich Portion: The Nuptials were celebrated at *Cracow* with a Magnificence worthy of the two Princes.

The *Prussians*, who were Tributaries to *Poland*, shook off the Yoke, and had the Insolence to erect a Castle on the Frontiers, from whence they made Inroads into the Country. *Boleslaus*, ineffectually besieged this Fortrefs, which accommodated these Robbers with a Retreat: The advantageous Situation of the Place, and the Courage exerted in its Defense, constrained him to raise the Siege; upon which the Barbarians, elated with their Success, extended their Cruelty and Incurfions to a greater Length. They enter'd *Pomerania*, where they exacted Contributions from the Inhabitants, and conquer'd Part of that Province. Their Method of making War was, by declining

1063.

The Defeat  
of the *Prussians*.



clining an Engagement; and whenever the *Polish* Army appear'd, they shrunk into Woods that were inaccessible; and when a Deficiency of Provisions, or the Badness of the Season obliged them to retire, they renew'd their Attacks, and always signalized themselves by some unmanly Barbarity. *Boleslaus*, therefore, advanced towards them as secretly as possible, in order to surprize them, and he received Intelligence, that the Enemies, who imagined him to be at a Distance from them, were encamped on the Banks of the *Ossa*. He passed that River, without being discovered and made a dreadful Slaughter; in Consequence of which those who survived this bloody Defeat, were compelled to retreat into their own Country, and they then submitted to pay the customary Tribute.

1065.  
The Hunga-  
rian War.

The Absence of *Bela* had not diminished the Affection the *Hungarians* entertained for him. Some of the Nobility maintained a close Correspondence with that Prince, and had given him secret Assurances, that they would declare in his Favour, if he would enter *Hungary* with a Body of Troops. Others came to join him in *Poland*, and they represented to him, that it was Time to finish his Exile, and their own. That the People were desirous of his Return; that the Nobles would have Recourse to Arms, the Moment he should appear, and that he was invited to the Throne by all the Suffrages of the Nation. Tho' the present Conjunctions did not seem favourable to *Bela*, and as the Alliances, which *Andrew* had contracted with the *Germans* and *Bohemians*, made him apprehensive of the Conjunction of those two Nations, in order to succour their Ally; yet the Sollicitations of the disaffected Party, and the Dispositions which he imagined

the

the *Hungarians* entertained, made him determine on War; and when he had once form'd that Design he pursued the Execution of it with incredible Ardour. His first Care was to engage the King of *Poland* to become a Party in that War. *Boleslaus*, who was passionately fond of Glory, and whose Inclinations were intirely martial, was easily prevail'd upon to undertake it, and the two Princes enter'd *Hungary* with three Armies. *Bela* had formed a Body of Troops out of the Exiles and Disaffected, who, besides the Cause of their Prince, had their own particular Quarrels to sustain. *Boleslaus* conducted a second Body, composed of all the bravest Troops in *Poland*, and *Wszehor*, a *Polish* Lord, was at the Head of the third. *Andrew* was still Master of more numerous Troops, to oppose them, and every Circumstance of which *Bela* had been apprehensive, came to pass. The Emperor *Henry* had assisted the King of *Hungary* with a considerable Army, commanded by Count *William*. He was likewise aided by the *Bohemians*, under the Conduct of *Conrade* the Brother of their Duke, and *Andrew* himself was at the Head of the *Hungarians*, and all the Militia of his Kingdom: But if this Prince had more Soldiers, the Troops of his Enemies were better disciplin'd, and their Courage was a Compensation for their Deficiency in Numbers. Each Party therefore entertained Hopes of the Victory, and were equally solicitous for an Engagement; they soon confronted each other and began the Action with equal Ardor; the  *Germans* and *Bohemians* performed Prodigies of Valour, and render'd the Victory uncertain for some Hours, but the Treason of the *Hungarians* determin'd it in Favour of *Bela*: most of the foreign Troops were slain, their Chiefs were made Prisoners of War, *Andrew* himself was seized in his

his Flight, and his perfidious Subjects treated him with so much Indignity, that he died in a few Days.

The Revolt  
of the Pea-  
sants in Hun-  
gary.

*Bela* had scarce ascended the Throne of *Hungary*, before the Peasants revolted. These People, who still retain their Ferocity, carried all things into Extreams: their most inconsiderable Movements were signaliz'd by some Instance of Cruelty, and every Part of their Conduct was attended with Horror and Inhumanity: but it is likewise as certain, that if their impetuous Disposition was increased, by their first Success, they were afterwards intimidated by the least Disadvantage. The Payment of the Tythes, which the Ecclesiastics might possibly have exacted with too much Rigour, gave Occasion to this Insurrection. The Rebels assembled themselves together, and had Recourse to Arms; they elected Chiefs, plunder'd the Churches, and massacred all the Priests who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. And when they had associated themselves by these Crimes, they had the Insolence to present themselves before the King, and to demand, with Threats, the Suppression of the Tythes, and the Abolition of Christianity. All the Nobility and Ecclesiastics attended the King, in order to share the Danger: and they obtained from the Rebels a Space of three Days, to answer their Demands. The King employed that Time in forming the proper Measures to make them return to their Duty, and to tame their Fury, and he was join'd by a Body of Troops who were capable of suppressing this confused Multitude. The Ringleaders of the Sedition were seized, and put to Death, by severe Torments, in the Presence of the People; and their Punishment infused such a Terror into the rest of the Mutineers, that they were dispersed

disperſed with as much Facility as they at firſt aſſembled together.

When the *Hungarian Expedition* was over, <sup>1067.</sup>  
*Boleſlaus* was induced, by the Sollicitations of <sup>The Con-</sup>  
the Nobility, to eſpouſe a Princeſs of *Ruſſia* na- <sup>queſt of</sup>  
med *Wiſzeſlava*, but this Marriage was effected, <sup>Ruſſia,</sup>  
more by the political Ambition of the King,  
than any particular Inclination to the Lady.  
*Ruſſia* had, in Faſt, been conquer'd by his An-  
ceſtor *Boleſlaus* the Great, and had not ſhook off  
the Domination of *Poland* 'till the Reign of the  
weak *Mieſſlaus*, and in Conſequence of the fa-  
vourable Conjunſtures that were preſented to  
them by the civil Wars, which were kindled af-  
ter the Death of that Prince. *Mary*, the Daugh-  
ter of *Jaroſlaus*, and Mother of *Boleſlaus* the Se-  
cond, had given him an incontestable Right to  
Part of thoſe Territories, and in order to corro-  
borate his Pretenſions, he eſpouſed *Wiſzeſlava*,  
who had likewise ſome Title to them herſelf.  
But the ſecret and moſt powerful Motive to this  
War, was the noble Jealouſy which *Boleſlaus* en-  
tertain'd of the Glory of his great Anceſtor, and  
he was ambitious to obliterate his Memory by  
his own Conqueſts, or, at leaſt, to equal him;  
and this Prince would have ſucceeded in that  
Deſign, if his Moderation had correſponded with  
his Courage. He wanted neither Troops, nor  
Money, nor Proviſions, and he had the Dexte-  
rity to employ the *Ruſſians* themſelves in the  
Conqueſt of their Country, by engaging in the  
Defence of *Zaſlaus* Duke of *Kiovia*, who had been  
chaſed from his Dominions by his own Subjects,  
and who greatly contributed to their Deſeat.  
*Wiſſeſlaus*, Duke of *Poloczka*, who had uſurped the  
Duchy of *Kiovia*, had a numerous Army of *Ruſ-*  
*fians*, and *Walaques*, to oppoſe *Boleſlaus*; he even  
F marched



marched against him to prevent his Entrance into his Dominions, and with an Intention to attack him; but he was intimidated at the first View of the *Polish* Troops; he was astonished at the Multitude and Order of his Enemies, and he privately quitted his Camp, in order to retire to *Poloczka*, with a small Retinue. The same Consternation seized the *Russians*, who, when they beheld themselves destitute of a Chief, quitted their Posts, and intirely dispersed themselves. The *Poles* at first suspected that this Appearance of Flight, concealed some Ambush, and, tho' the Enemies were no longer visible, the King order'd the same Guard to be kept, as if they actually confronted him, and would not permit any one Soldier to make Excursions, in order to pillage. He advanced, by small Marches, towards *Kiovia*, with a Resolution to conquer it, either by gentle Methods or by Force of Arms; when he received Intelligence that the Inhabitants of that City, finding themselves abandon'd by their Duke, had sent a Deputation to *Suantoslaus* and *Wszewold*, his Brothers, to implore their Assistance, and to acquaint them, that if they were not provided with Forces sufficient to repel the *Poles*, they could listen to nothing but the Language of their Despair, and that they would sooner choose to fire their City, and retire into the Dominions of the *Grecian* Emperor, with their Wives and Children, than to become the Prey of their most implacable Enemies. This Deputation was favourably received by the two Dukes, who answer'd the Envoys, that they would engage *Zaslaus* to pardon them, if they would submit themselves, and that if he rejected their Mediation, they would march with all their Forces to relieve *Kiovia*.

In

In the mean Time, *Suantoslaus* and *Wszewold*, sent to assure *Boleslaus* and *Zaslaus*, of the Obedience of the *Kiowians*, and to solicit them not to treat that People as Rebels, since they repented of their Revolt. The King acquiesced with this Proposal, and immediately suspended all Acts of Hostility; but in order to be certain that this Negotiation was conducted with Sincerity, and that the Submission of the *Kiowians* was real, he caused *Miecslaus*, the Son of *Zaslaus*, to advance with a small Body of *Polish* Troops, while he himself followed with the Remainder of the Army. *Kiowia* open'd its Gates to the young Prince, and received him with all imaginable Marks of Submission. *Boleslaus* and *Zaslaus* made their Entrance soon after the Prince, and the Capture of this great City was the more glorious, as the Terror created by their March, had caused the Gates to be thrown open, without making it necessary for them to shed the Blood of the Inhabitants.

*Zaslaus* made himself Master of *Poloczck* with the same Facility. The pusillanimous *Wisseslaus* had retired into that City after he had abandon'd *Kiowia*. *Zaslaus* enter'd it without the Loss of one Man, and consigned the Government of it to his Son *Suantopeczk*.

The *Polish* Troops were disposed into Winter Quarters, in the Parts adjacent to *Kiowia*, and *Zaslaus* plentifully supplied them with Forage and all other Provisions necessary for their Subsistence. *Boleslaus* took the Field again, as soon as the Season would permit him, and made his first Efforts in the Parts that were contiguous to the River *San*, in black *Russia*. Most of the Cities submitted without the least Resistance, and he made himself Master of those which had the Presumption to sustain a Siege. *Przemysl* or *Premisly*

was, at that Time, the best fortified and the richest of all the Cities in those Territories. The Inhabitants of the adjacent Country retired to it in Crowds, in Hopes that its Ramparts would furnish them with an Asylum, from the victorious Army. The *San*, or *Sana* whose Source is at the Foot of the Mountains of *Krapack*, and whose Waters are discharged into the *Vistula* between *Sandomir*, and *Zawichost*, flowed into the Ditches of that Place, and this River being then increased by Winter Rains, render'd the City more difficult of Access. It was even impracticable to form the Siege before the Waters were abated. *Boleslaus* engaged in it with his usual Ardour; and daily gain'd Ground, in Consequence of which, the Inhabitants were obliged to shut themselves up within their Ramparts. They at last had the Resolution to sally from the Place, but the Attempt proved ineffectual. Amidst the Surprise created by that Action, they even penetrated into the Camp, but the Moment the King appear'd, they were struck with Consternation, and were repulsed with so considerable a Loss, that, the bravest Defenders of the Place being either slain or taken Prisoners, the rest of the Garrison were no longer capable of opposing their Enemies. The King, after this Action, caused a general Assault to be made on three different Quarters; the small Number of *Russians* were incapable of sustaining the Impetuosity of those Attacks, and therefore retired into the Citadel, rather with a View of obtaining an advantageous Capitulation, than for any Defence of the Place, and they accordingly surrendered in a few Days.

Another  
Expedition  
into *Hungary*  
1791

*Boleslaus* thought it incumbent on him to discontinue the War, which he had commenced with so much Success, in order to succour his  
Allies,

Allies, and his Generosity inclined him to prefer their Interest to the Glory of acquiring Conquests. *Bela*, King of *Hungary*, had been buried some Time before, under the Ruins of his Palace, and had left *Geisa*, *Uladislaus*, and *Lambert*, his Sons, for his Successors: But *Solomon* the Son of *Andrew*, being supported by the Emperor, entred *Hungary* after the Death of *Bela*, and as the *Hungarians* are naturally inconstant, they were easily induced to acknowledge the strongest Power, in Consequence of which they drove the Sons of *Bela* from their Territories. *Boleslaus* quitted *Premisly*, as soon as he receiv'd this Intelligence, and advanced to the Assistance of the Princes, in Opposition to the Remonstrances of his Officers, who were displeased to leave so amiable a Conquest imperfect. His Arrival intirely changed the Aspect of Affairs in *Hungary*, and he was join'd by a great Body of the Nobility, who were desirous of restoring their former Princes. *Solomon*, distrusting the Fidelity of the People, retired with the Remains of his foreign Troops, into the Fortrefs of *Muszur*, which was rendred almost impregnable by its Situation and Fortifications. The preparatory Dispositions that were necessary to be made, for so difficult a Siege, suspended, for a short Season, the Animosity of the two Parties, and the Bishops improved this Kind of Truce, by the Proposal of an Accommodation. Their good Offices proved successful, and a Peace was concluded between the *Hungarian* Princes; after which the indefatigable *Boleslaus* marched immediately to *Russia*, where his Prefence was render'd necessary by new Conjunctions.

During his Absence, *Zaslus* had embroiled himself with *Suantoslaus*, and *Wszewold*, his Brothers,  
1673.  
The Event  
of the Russian War.



thers, who had chased him a second Time from *Kiovia*. *Boleslaus* thought himself obliged, in Honour, to reestablish this Prince who was his ancient Friend; for which Reason, when he had taken proper Precautions for the Security of *Premisla*, the Fortifications of which he caused to be repaired, he advanced farther into *Russia*, and, in order to conceal his March, took the Rout of *Kiovia* or *Kiow*, which he seem'd determin'd to besiege; but he suddenly wheel'd about into the Territories of *Wlodimirow*, which now compose the Palatinates of *Lusac* and *Chelm*. The Country is fertile, and nourishes a large Quantity of Cattle. *Boleslaus* ravaged all this Tract, and when he had transmitted the Spoils into *Poland*, he form'd the Siege of *Wolyn*, the chief Fortrefs in that Country. The Place held out for the Space of Six Months, against all the Efforts of the *Polish* Army, and at last submitted to the Promises of *Boleslaus*, rather than to the Force of his Arms. *Gregory*, Prince of *Wlodimirow* and *Chelm*, was alarmed at the taking of that strong Place, and, amidst his Apprehensions for his own Dominions, submitted to the Conqueror, and gave him Hostages.

1074.  
The Defeat  
of *Wjze-*  
*wold*.

When this Expedition was compleated, *Boleslaus* marched against *Kiovia*, the Capital of *Russia*. *Wjzevold* was then Master of that City, and when he received Intelligence of the Approach of the *Polish* Army, this Prince, whose Troops were augmented by their Conjunction with the Fugitives from *Wolyn* and the other conquered Countries, advanced to give Battle to his Enemies. He gallantly disputed the Victory, which cost the *Poles* almost as much as if they had been defeated, so that they were unable to attempt any other Enterprize during the Remainder of that Campaign.

*Boleslaus*

*Boleslaus* returned to *Poland* with immense Spoils, and he determined to make new Levies, and begin the War afresh the succeeding Spring.

He accordingly opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Kiovia*, and the Defendants were perpetually making vigorous Sallies, that resembled compleat Battles; for all the boldest of the *Russians* had thrown themselves into the City, with a Resolution either to defend it, or perish in the Attempt. But notwithstanding all their Resistance, the Besiegers continued their Approaches to the Place; erected Machines, open'd a Breach, and made all the necessary Dispositions for a general Assault. But the King being informed by Deserters, that the Place began to be destitute of Provisions, and that the numerous Body of its Defenders, who were there shut up, would soon consume the Remainder of the Corn, did not think it necessary to hazard the Lives of his Soldiers, in taking a City whose Gates would be soon opened to him by Famine. His whole Attention was therefore employed in blocking up the Avenues, and securing his Camp, that the Besieged might neither receive any Succours, nor be in a Condition to attempt a Sally. The Quarters possessed by the *Polish* Army, formed a second Town, that was better fortified than the Place besieged. The Guards were posted there with the utmost Vigilance, and while some particular Parties made Excursions into the Country, in order to discover and repel the Enemy, the King, who confined himself to his Camp, was attentive to its Security, and the Conduct of the Siege. *Kiovia* suffer'd the last Extremities, most of the Commonality perished by Famine, which in a short Time swept off Rich and Poor without Distinction. The Besieged, being at last reduced to an inconsiderable Number, demanded a Capitulation,

pitulation, or, more properly, they surrendered the City at Discretion, to the Conqueror. The King afforded their Envoys a favourable Reception, and immediately signed the Capitulation, with such Conditions as they could never have presumed to expect.

1076.

*Boleslaus* marched into the City, at the Head of all his Troops, and made it his Glory to imitate the Entrance of his Ancestor *Boleslaus* the Great, into that Place. The Capitulation was strictly observed, and the least Instance of Plunder was severely punished. The City was recruited with Corn and other Provisions, and the King reestablished *Zaslau*, rather as a Governour of a *Polish* Province, than an independent Prince.

*Boleslaus* abandons himself to Pleasure.

*Kiovia* was, at that Time, the most voluptuous City in all the North; the *Greeks*, whose Rites in Religion the Inhabitants had embraced, had imparted to them their Taste for Debaucheries. The Effeminacy of the conquer'd People corrupted the *Polish* Army, and wrested from them all the Fruits of their Victory. *Boleslaus*, who had always been indefatigable, temperate, and easy of Access till then, abandoned himself to all the Vices, which are the usual Concomitants of Prosperity. Humanity, Gentleness of Disposition, and that Fortitude of Mind, which had braved the Shock of innumerable Dangers, entirely disappeared amidst the Luxury of *Kiovia*. He affected all the imperious State of Kings, and degenerated into a Relish for the most degrading Debaucheries. An insupportable Pride, and a Course of unnatural Passions, succeeded that Moderation and Wisdom which he had before discovered. His Soldiers were soon infected with the same Vices, and the Riches, that were the Fruit of their Victories, were only instrumental to their Imitation of their Prince's Passions: *Poland*, therefore,

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lost more than ever it had acquired by the Conquest of a Country that proved so fatal to the Victors.

The *Russian* War had employed the *Poles* for the Space of almost Seven Years, and this long Absence filled their Country with such strange Disorders as will hardly be render'd credible, even by the Authority of History it self. The *Polish* Women were so exasperated at the unjust Preference their Husbands gave the *Kioviens* over them, that they unanimously resolved on a memorable Revenge, and resigned themselves, by the most singular Conspiracy, to the Embraces of their Slaves. This Fury passed from the Mothers to their Daughters; the whole Sex were involved in a publick Prostitution, and covered their Fathers and Husbands, with the same Degree of Shame. There was only one Lady on whom neither Absence, nor the Infidelity of her Husband, were capable of making any Impression; History has transmitted her Name to Posterity; *Margaret* the Wife of Count *Nicholas* of *Zemboczin* was this faithful Wife, who had no Share in the common Dishonour.

The Tydings of so publick and unanimous a Revenge, soon reached *Kiovia*, where it kindled Jealousy in all its Rage. The Soldiers imputed their Dishonour to the King, the Camp was in Commotion, and all the Army proclaimed aloud, that *Russia* was sufficiently avenged; and that the *Poles* had obtain'd no other Fruit from their Victories, than the inglorious Opportunity of returning into their Country, with Ignominy painted on their Brows, and also with the Custom and Vices of the People they had vanquished. They likewise added, that *Boleslaus* despised them, and reserved his Affability for the *Russians* whom he had defeated, instead of affording it to those brave Soldiers who had enabled him to conquer; and that he was degenerated, from a King of *Poland*,

to



to a Slave of *Zastus*. These Expressions soon accomplished their Effect; the greatest Part of the Army deserted, and the *Poles*, preferring their Impatience for a speedy Vengeance, to the Duty they owed their King, left him alone in an Enemies Country.

The *Polish* Women had endeavoured to secure themselves from the Resentment of their Husbands, by inspiring their despicable Lovers with Courage enough to take up Arms, in order to oppose the Conquerors of *Russia*, and indeed the whole Country was confederated in one Revolt. The Slaves seiz'd the Places of greatest Strength, and sustain'd a War and several Sieges from their Masters. Despair and the Apprehension of Punishment, actuated their Minds, in the Room of Valour, and they defended themselves to the last Extremity. They were seconded by their Wives, with equal Ardour; several of these Women join'd themselves to the Battalions of the Men, and fought for their Husbands in the Confusion of the Skirmish; they were animated with a Fury that has no Parallel, and they added Parricide to Adultery. One Father destroyed his own Daughter, who was attempting to plunge a Dagger into his Bosom, and another lay bleeding with the Wounds he had received from her who was indebted to him for her Life. Those who were weakest, and least courageous, were employed in assisting the Wounded, and animating the Combatants, either to repair their ancient Fortifications, or to erect new. It seem'd as if they had been to encounter their most cruel Enemies, and the *Poles* found as much Difficulty in defeating their own Wives, as they had experienced in conquering the *Russians*.

The Cruelty  
of *Boleslaus*.

In the mean Time, *Boleslaus* arrived with the Remains of his Troops, and with a Resolution to

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chastise, with equal Severity, those criminal Women, and their Husbands, whose Jealousy had spirited them up to abandon his Designs, in order to gratify their Revenge. The Punishment was inflicted with too much Rigour, and became a Scene of Barbarity. Several Thousand Women, and their Children, were massacred by the express Command of the King, and the Soldiers, who had quitted their Camp, were treated with the same Inhumanity. Their Leaders were punished with Death, for a Crime which was render'd excusable by their Regard to their Honour. Several were thrown into dismal Dungeons, and the greatest Number were divested of all their Effects.

The Church was, at that Time, rent by the fatal Quarrels that arose between the Emperors and the Popes. The former of these claim'd the Prerogative of creating the Sovereign Pontiffs, or at least, of confirming their Election; and the Popes were so far from acknowledging this Right, that they pretended they had a Power to deprive the Emperors of the Disposition of Benefices, in the Territories that were subject to their Authority. Henry IV. had already been disgusted at the Election of *Alexander* the Second, at *Rome*, without his Consent; but tho' he had nominated the Bishop of *Parma*, who assumed the Name of *Honorius* the Second, to the See of *Rome*, the Election of *Alexander*, had been adjudged canonical, and he was accordingly acknowledged. This Pope, having afterwards enter'd into a League with the Saxons and Bavarians, had received an Accusation of Simony against the Emperor, and cited him to appear at *Rome*. *Hildebrand* his Successor, who was called *Gregory* the Seventh, carried things into greater Extrems, for he excommunicated and deposed *Henry*. The Emperor was obliged, at first,

1077.  
Troubles in  
the Church,  
on the Sub-  
ject of In-  
vestitures.

first, to submit, but he soon placed himself in a Condition to vindicate his Rights. The Bishops of *Lombardy* set up *Gilbert* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who took the Name of *Clement III.* against *Gregory*: The Emperor advanced into *Italy* with an Army, made himself Master of *Rome*, enthroned his pretended Pope in the Chair of *St. Peter*, and besieged *Gregory* with his Cardinals, in Castle *St. Angelo*, into which they had retired. Their Thunders were all unavailing, and they would soon have fallen into the Hands of an incensed Prince, if they had not implored the Assistance of the same *Normans*, whom they had lately loaded with Anathemas.

*Robert Guiscard* had sent his Brother *Roger*, to conquer *Sicily*, which was then held as a Fief of the *Roman See*. *Roger*, when he had taken *Messina* and *Palermo*, made himself Master of the whole Island. *Gregory VII.* had excommunicated these Princes, as Usurpers of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*; but as he needed their Assistance in his present Emergency, he was very liberal of his Benedictions to them, because he now consider'd them as his Friends and Avengers. When the Excommunication was vacated, *Guiscard* advanced to *Rome* with his brave *Normans*, obliged the Emperor to have Recourse to Flight, and deliver'd the Pope, who retired to *Salernum* where he died.

*Stanislaus*  
Bishop of  
*Cracow*,  
massacred  
by *Boleslaus*.

The Diffentions in *Poland*, between the Sovereign and the Ecclesiastic Powers, were equally impetuous. As *Boleslaus* had abandoned himself to Cruelty and Injustice, he overwhelmed his People with Taxes; plunged himself into all the Excess of the most criminal Debaucheries, and polluted his Character with Tyranny and Sacrilege. *Stanislaus*, Bishop of *Cracow*, conceiving himself obliged, in Duty, to reprove his Sovereign for the shocking

shocking Course of his inordinate Conduct, intimated his first Expostulations to him in private, but to no Effect; and when his publick Remonstrances were afterwards as unavailing as the former, the undaunted Prelate had Recourse to Excommunication, as his last Expedient. This he thunder'd forth in the Presence of the King himself, and pronounced it before the People, in the Cathedral Church of *Cracow*. The King expressed his Resentment in the severest Menaces; he solemnly vowed to revenge the Indignity he had sustained, and had certainly slain *Stanislaus* upon the Spot, if he had not immediately withdrawn himself from his Rage.

The pious Prelate concealed himself for the Space of a Year; but when he was informed that *Boleslaus* persevered in his Debaucheries, and assisted at Divine Service, in Contempt of the Excommunication, he quitted his Retreat in the Fervours of his Zeal, he returned to his Church, and refused Admittance to the King who was preparing to enter it. He reproached him with his Crimes, his Impenitency, and his Contempt for the Thunders of the Church, and he denounced the Excommunication anew. The Prince was checkt by some Remains of Reverence, for that sacred Place; but he only spared *Stanislaus*, till he could have the first Opportunity of destroying him, without incurring any Risque.

An Opportunity of this Nature was soon presented to him. *Stanislaus* had no Guards, but the Sanctity of his Life, the Lustre of his Vertues, and the Veneration of the People. The King receiving Intelligence that he was celebrating Mass in a small Oratory, into which he had retired with a few Priests, dispatched a Party of Soldiers thither, with orders to assassinate him. The Majestic Air of the Prelate suspended the  
Vigour



Vigour of their Arms, or, if we may credit the *Polish* Historian, they were struck to the Earth, and render'd Motionless by some Celestial Power. Thrice did the King send a Band of Murderers to this Place of Devotion, and they as often returned, without executing the Orders of that impious Prince. He loaded them with a thousand Reproaches for their pusillanimous Hesitation, and then resolved to accomplish his Barbarity with his own Dagger. *Stanislaus* was drag'd from the Altar; the King gave him the first Stab; and the Soldiers were so harden'd by his Example, that they immediately assaulted the Bishop, and hewed him in Pieces; after which, they scatter'd his mangled Limbs in different Places, to prevent the People from paying a Reverence to those precious Remains. Notwithstanding which, some pious Persons charged themselves with the charitable Care of collecting them together, and they were privately deposited in a Tomb, which they prepared, for that Purpose, under the Threshold of the Door that open'd into the Orationary.

This Crime was soon succeeded by Vengeance: the Bishops poured forth their Complaints to the Pope, and demanded a Punishment suitable to the Guilt of the Assassin. The Thunder which was launched from *Rome* was terrible, and it even blasted the Throne of *Poland*. *Gregory VII.* who was then seated in *St. Peter's* Chair, found sufficient Matter for the Exercise of an implacable Zeal, which involved the Prince and People in its bitter Effects. *Poland* was charged with a general Interdict, which the Archbishop of *Gnesna* caused to be observed with the utmost Strictness. It lost the Appellation of a Kingdom, *Boleslaus* was deprived of the Title of King, and his Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance. The

Pope

Pope even prohibited the Metropolitan of *Poland* and his Suffragans, from crowning another King, without the Consent and Orders of the *Roman* See. The Nobility and Soldiers, who had assisted at the Assassination of the pious Bishop, were deprived of their Effects ; and their Children were render'd incapable of possessing any Ecclesiastic or Secular Promotion, to the fourth Generation. Thus did this Pope think himself authorized, by the Crimes of Princes, to commit those that were more enormous, by inciting Subjects to rebel against their Sovereigns, and by disconcerting the Government of States.

In vain did *Boleslaus* oppose his Authority against the Execution of the Pope's Decree, the Understandings of People were clouded by an empty Shadow of Religion, which caused them to think it criminal to obey their lawful Prince. An excommunicated King became a Monster and an Object of Execration to their View. Divisions were created by the Cessation of Divine Service ; Cabals were formed by the Nobility ; *Russia* shook off her Yoke ; and every one either abandoned *Boleslaus*, or formed a Conspiracy against him.

This unfortunate Prince no longer thought himself safe in his own Dominions ; and he was obliged, for the Preservation of his Life, to retire into *Hungary*, with his only Son, *Miecslaus*. *Wratislaus*, the Son of *Bela*, entertain'd him in his Court, with all imaginable Marks of Honour : but the Pope still pursued him to that Retreat, and spirited all the Ecclesiastics and People against him ; insomuch that he was compelled to quit *Hungary*, and conceal himself, in order to be secured from their Fury. Some Historians assure us, that he died in a Monastery in *Carinthia*, where, according

1080,  
1081.  
*Boleslaus* is  
obliged to  
quit *Poland*,  
and dies miserably.

The Character of  
*Boleslaus.*

ing to them, he exercised the mean Employment of a Cook. Others relate that he was killed, as he was hunting in the Forests of *Hungary*.

This Prince was valiant, and, in this Quality, he perhaps surpassed all his Predecessors. As he proposed his Ancestor *Boleslaus* the Great, for his Model, he began with re-conquering all the Territories *Poland* had lost, since the Death of that Monarch, and his next Intention was to subdue all the North. He wanted neither Courage, nor Prudence, to accomplish that great Plan, and he would certainly have succeeded, if he had not been dazzled with the Lustre of his own Glory. He was naturally vertuous, temperate, and affable; he a while was the Father of his People, and diffused Liberality and Magnificence as far as they were capable of being extended. With how much generosity did he receive several Princes, who had been expelled from their own Dominions, and who implored his Protection? With how much Ardour did he support their Interest, when he undertook their Defence? He marched into *Hungary*, with no other View than to restore the Sovereign to his People, and he was more desirous to see a Crown on the Head of his Friend, than on his own. His Clemency to the Conquer'd was extraordinary. The *Kioviens* easily excited his Compassion, and he consider'd them rather as his natural Subjects, than as vanquished Enemies, the Moment he became Master of their City. If we therefore consider the Conduct of *Boleslaus* in an impartial Light, we may affirm, that Nature had furnished him with all the Virtues of a Hero, and that the Heart of this Prince was corrupted by an Excess of Prosperity, which tainted him with the Vices of a Tyrant. Pride and Effeminacy stole upon him after a Series of Victories. His Liberality degenerated into Luxury

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ury and profusion, and he overwhelmed his People with a Weight of Taxes, in order to supply his useless and immoderate Expences. The Guilt he had conceived for the most extravagant Debaucheries, and for such Pleasures as were contrary to Nature, render'd him impious in the Event. He was unable to bear the Remonstrances and salutary Expostulations of a Prelate, venerable for the Sanctity of his Manners, and whose Zeal obliged him to oppose himself against the degrading Vices of his Sovereign. In a Word, the Height of Impiety, in Conjunction with absolute Power, render'd *Boleslaus* unjust and inhuman, and caused him to perpetrate an enormous Crime, which cost him his Crown and Life.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND.

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BOOK II.

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The Change  
effected in  
the Govern-  
ment.

THE Assassination of the Bishop of *Cracow* caused a total change in the *Polish* Government. *Gregory VII.* deposed *Boleslaus*, as we have already observed, and this Pontif, who delighted in trampling on Crowns, and severing the sacred Ties, that ought to unite Princes and their Subjects, had, by the same Brief, prohibited the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, the Metropolitan of all *Poland*, from Crowning another King; and it may be said, to the Misfortune of this Nation, that he was obeyed too well. The *Poles* were still so inexperienced as to regard the Measures taken by the Court of *Rome*, as so many incontestible

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Prerogatives, which could not be invaded without a Crime. They had already render'd an implicit Submission to the Tax called *St. Peter's Pence*, and as they thus bowed their Necks under the Yoke of a formidable Pope, they received, without a Murmur, the Bull which overturned a Throne that depended on God alone. The Republic of *Poland* sustained an irreparable Prejudice, and the People were plunged into the utmost Calamities. The Sovereignty was transferred to Dukes, whose Children afterwards divided the Provinces among them, by Right of Succession. Each City had a Master, or rather a Tyrant. The State lost the Force of an united Body, governed by one Head, and the Provinces, being detached from the Kingdom, and render'd independent of each other, as they were formed out of the Ruins of the Monarchy, were no more than the Shaddow of the ancient Kingdom of *Poland*.

*Uladislaus*, Brother of *Boleslaus*, was his Successor, under the Title of Duke, and without daring to assume that of King, for fear of incensing the Pope. This Prince was devoted to Religion, and his first Care, after his Election, was to send a memorable Embassy to *Rome*, to demand the Abolition of the Interdict, with the Rigour of which all *Poland* was oppress'd. The Pope suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon by the Submission of the *Poles*, and was inclinable to grant the Request, and he was likewise induced, by the Solicitations of the new Duke, to confirm the Election of *Lambert*, who was chosen by the Chapter of *Cracow*, to succeed *St. Stanislaus*. *Bohemia* had acquired the Elevation of which *Poland* was divested, and *Wratislaus* the Duke of that Country, having taken

1081.

1082.

*Uladislaus*  
Duke of  
*Poland*.

a Journey to salute the Emperour *Henry IV.* at the Diet of *Mentz*, obtain'd the Regalia from him, by vertue of Presents, and the Archbishop of *Treves* Crowned him at *Prague*, by the Emperor's Order.

1091 *Russia* had already shaken off the Yoke, and the *Poles* were entirely chased from those Territories. This Revolt drew after it that of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*. *Uladislaus* Duke of *Poland* soon compelled these Provinces to return to their Duty: A fatal Defeat had obliged them to acknowledge the Conqueror, and they seem'd to testify an Air of Submission; but as soon as the Duke had withdrawn his Troops, these fierce People took up Arms anew, with more Fury than before. They always declined a Battle, and found a safe Asylum, for themselves, their Wives and Children, in the thick Recesses of their Forests. They interested themselves but little in the Defence of their Country, and they easily transported their Effects with them, leaving nothing for a Prey to their Enemy. *Uladislaus*, being uncertain where he ought to fix the Seat of War, received Intelligence, that they had assembled in the City of *Nakiel*, which they had chosen for their secret Rendezvous, in order to make a sudden Irruption into *Poland*, when its Attention should be engaged elsewhere. The Duke, hereupon, advanced with the utmost Expedition to that Place, but Fortune was unfavourable to his Designs, and a fatal Mistake occasioned his Defeat. The Camp was surrounded with thick Bushes, which, by the Light of the Moon, presented the *Poles* with the Appearance of a numerous Army, brandishing a Forest of Pikes; they likewise mistook the violent Agitation of the Branches by the Wind, for the clattering of Arms, and the Noise occasion'd by the rolling

rolling of Charriots. They armed themselves, therefore, with the utmost Precipitation, in order to confront these pretended Foes. The Night, in Conjunction with this Surprise, caused a great Disorder among them; all the Troops quitted the Camp, with more Courage than Prudence, and whilst they were advancing to engage an imaginary Foe, the Besieged made a vigorous Sally, destroyed the Trenches, overthrew the Palisades of the Camp, set Fire to the Tents and military Machines, and killed a great Number of *Poles*, who in vain hasten'd to extinguish the Flames, and save their Baggage. This Action obliged *Uladislaus* to raise the Siege in a dishonourable Manner, but he effectually avenged himself the ensuing Year; the Rebels submitted to his Authority, and gave him Hostages.

This Prince had two Sons; *Boleslaus* whose Birth was legitimate, and *Sbigna*, a natural Son. Great Hopes were conceived of the first; and he had already signalized himself by several gallant Actions, at an Age hardly sufficient for sustaining the Weight of Arms. The Favour of the People, and the Right he derived from his Birth, caused him to be considered as his Father's sole Heir. *Uladislaus* intended *Sbigna* for an ecclesiastic Station, and, in order to dispose of him agreeably to that Intention, he had sent him into *Saxony*, where the young Prince was shut up in a Monastery. The *Polish* Exiles, together with some of the Nobility, whose hatred to the Palatine of *Cracow*, the Duke's Favourite, had caused them to retire from *Poland*, endeavoured to make *Sbigna* instrumental to their Return into their Country, or at least to avenge them for the Injuries they imagined had been offered them, by kindling a Civil War. The young Prince, having

Trouble excited by *Sbigna*, a natural Son of *Uladislaus*.



ing, therefore, been taken from the Monastery, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the Monks, the Exiles placed him at their Head, with an Intention to make themselves Masters of *Wratiflaw*. The Conjunctions were then favourable to their Design, for this City is seated on the Frontiers of *Bobemia*, from whence they could be supplied with all Manner of Succours. They were likewise sensible, that the Governour of that Place had lately received some ill Treatment from the Palatine of *Cracow*, and they were in Hopes of gaining him over to their Party without any Difficulty. With this Persuasion they advanced towards *Wratiflaw*, without committing any Act of Hostility, and when they had made a near Approach to the City, they dispatched some of their Body to the Governour, in order to obtain a Conference with him, and which he consented to grant. The Confederates made a lively Representation of the Calamities that were occasioned by the tyrannical Conduct of the Tyrant. They likewise represented to him, that they were all *Poles* by Birth, and also his Friends, or Relations; that they had not approached the City with an hostile Intention, but rather as Supplicants for an Asylum there; and that it was incumbent on him, before his Refusal of that Favour, to take Notice that they were headed by a Prince who would one Day be his Sovereign; and lastly, that he ought to be apprehensive of his own Danger, and it was their mutual Interest to secure themselves from the Vengeance of the Palatine, by whom they were all equally persecuted.

The Governor began to hesitate in his Fidelity, but was not immediately brought over to their Sentiments. He was dubious of the Conduct he ought to pursue, and was sometimes influenced by  
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the Oath he had taken to his Prince, and sometimes by his Antipathy to the Minister: he therefore addressed himself to the Inhabitants, and desired their Advice in this Conjunction. The apprehensions they entertained of a Siege, and their Inclination to Novelty, created in them those Sentiments that were most agreeable to the Governor's Disposition, and they easily prevailed upon him to open the Gates to *Sbigna*. He accordingly complied with their Proposal, in Consequence of which, he gave that Prince Possession of the Citadel, and supplied his Troops with Provisions, with this Proviso, that he would agree to retire, if *Uladislaus* should issue any Order to that Effect, and that nothing should be attempted, injurious to the Authority of the Sovereign, or inconsistent with the Respect they owed him.

*Uladislaus* was ashamed at what had been transacted at *Wratislaw*, and he immediately took the Field; but *Sbigna* and his Exiles made their Retreat, before his Arrival, with a View, rather to withdraw themselves from the Fury of the Palatine, than to fly from the Presence of their Prince, with whose Clemency and Vertue they were well acquainted. *Uladislaus* met with no Opposition, and the Governor of *Wratislaw*, who had received the Exiles not with any Disposition to a Revolt, made no Preparation for his Defence, tho' he was Master of sufficient Forces for sustaining a Siege, and had all the Garrison at his Devotion. He caused the Duke to be assured of his Fidelity, and delivered up the Place to him, without the least Hesitation. *Sbigna* found a Sanctuary in *Crusvicia*, where he received Succours from the *Pomeranians* and *Prussians*; and he then had the Presumption to attack his Father. Fortune, however, was unfavourable to his Ensigns; *Sbigna*

was defeated, and his Party dispersed. *Crusovia* sustain'd a fatal Siege in his Favour, and this great City was so entirely laid in Ruins, as to be only known at present, by the Remembrance of its ancient Condition. *Sbigna* fell into the Hands of his Father, who immediately imprisoned him, but was afterwards prevailed upon, by the Solicitations of some of the Nobility, to pardon his Rebellion; and in order to prevent any Disagreement between his Sons after his Death, he divided his Dominions between them.

1098.  
*Boleslaus* and  
*Sbigna* unite  
against the  
Palatine of  
*Cracow*.

The Authority of the Palatine of *Cracow*, became insupportable to the two young Princes; the strongest Places in the Kingdom were all at his Disposal; he had erected a Fortress at his own Expence, and supplied it with all Necessaries for sustaining a Siege. All Employments in the State, were engrossed by his Relations and Friends; his Treasures were immense, and his Pride was as immoderate as his Riches. The Conduct of this Favourite, created several Suspicions in the Minds of *Boleslaus* and *Sbigna*, either because an Exorbitancy of Power is criminal in a Subject, or because he abused the Ascendancy he had acquired over the old Duke. The two Brothers combined together, to drive him from *Poland*, and assembled a great Army, with that Intention. Their Father advanced against them, but the Bishops and the Nobility became successful Mediators for a Peace. The Palatine was sacrific'd to the Tranquillity of *Poland*, and had Orders to retire; upon which, he immediately shut himself up in his Fortress. The two Princes prepared to besiege him with all their Forces, and they intended to treat him as a Rebel, when the Danger with which this Favourite was menaced,

ed, re-kindled the Friendship of the old Duke, who privately quitted his Palace, and went to join the Palatine.

All Things now seem'd to have a Tendency to a civil War: *Uladislaus* had engaged himself more intimately than ever with his Favourite, and shew'd a Disposition to expose himself to the last Extremity for his Support. His Sons, on the contrary, were more irritated at this Reunion than they were before: They had already made themselves Masters of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, together with several other Places, and were advancing in order to besiege their Father in *Ploczko*, when the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, who was honour'd by both Parties, as well for his Age as his Prudence, mediated an Accommodation between them. The old Duke took a new Oath to execute the former Treaty; the Sons, on their Part, obliged themselves to surrender to him the Towns they had siezed; and the Palatine was banished into *Russia*.

*Rome* had armed the Son against the Father, in *Germany*, and in every Place had set up a Standard of Rebellion against the lawful Monarch. The Differences occasioned by the Investitures, continually subsisted between the Emperors and the Popes, and at last, cost the unfortunate *Henry IV.* his Crown and Life. Pope *Urban II.* had deposed this Prince, and elected *Henry V.* to succeed him. The Son dethroned his Father, who died the following Year in the City of *Liege*. *Henry V.* testified but little Gratitude to the *Roman* See, in the Event, and he made it evident, that his Rebellion against his Father proceeded, rather from his Ambition to reign, than from any real Concern for the Interests of Religion, and the Pope.

1010.  
Henry V.  
takes up  
Arms a-  
gainst the  
Emperor his  
Father.

He



He marched into *Italy* with an Army of 30000 Men, under a Pretext of going to *Rome* to receive the imperial Crown. *Paschal II.* render'd him all possible Honours; but as he insisted upon this Emperor's Renunciation of all Pretences to Investitures, *Henry*, whose Troops were then in *Rome*, seized the Person of the Pope, and shut him up in a Fortrefs on Mount *Soracte*, under the Guard of *Ulric* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, 'till he had gratified him with Relation to the Investitures. The Renunciation was made in Form, the Pope was restored to his Liberty, and he then presented the imperial Crown to *Henry*. But this Prince was no sooner on his Return to *Germany*, than all the Bishops of *Italy* declared against a Treaty extorted by Violence and Fear. The Emperor was excommunicated and the Cession of the Investitures was disannulled in a Council held at *Rome*.

1102.  
The Death  
of *Uladislaus*.

*Uladislaus* Duke of *Poland* died at the Age of Fifty Nine Years, and his two Sons took Possession of the Territories which had been assigned to them, by the Partition, before their Father's Death. *Sbigna* was so impatient, as to seek some Pretext for quarrelling with his Brother, before the Ceremonials of his Father's Obsequies were performed. He pretended that he was entitled to all the Treasure of the old Duke, because it was deposited at the City of *Ploczko* which was comprized within his Share of the Partition. The Archbishop of *Gnesna* appeased, for once, this impetuous Spirit, and it was agreed that the Treasure should be equally divided between the two Princes. This Accommodation, however, was not of any long Continuance; *Sbigna* left nothing unattempted to create Enemies to his Brother:

ther: He form'd Cabals in *Bohemia*, and his Presents prevailed upon the Duke to assist him with an Army. His Applications were then addressed to *Pomerania* and *Prussia*, and he incited those fierce People to a Revolt. The *Saxons* likewise and the *Moravians* took up Arms at his Instigation, so that *Boleslaus* seem'd in Danger of being overwhelmed by the Number of Enemies that rose against him from all Quarters.

The young Prince, who wanted Forces rather than Courage, had Recourse, in this Extremity, to the *Russians* and *Hungarians*; and obtain'd such Succours as strengthen'd him, so effectually that he soon became the Aggressor. His Presence alone dispers'd the *Pomeranians* and *Prussians*; he sacked *Moravia*, and disunited the League that was form'd against him. After which he fell upon *Sbigna* by Surprise, and made himself Master of all his Places; but as the generous *Boleslaus* had not conceived any Aversion against his Brother, who had attempted his Destruction, he was only solicitous to render him incapable of injuring him for the future, and left him the Duchy of *Mazovia* to support him agreeably to his Rank.

This generous Proceeding made no Impression on the Heart of *Sbigna*, who seeing himself unable to prejudice his Brother in an open Manner, form'd a Party as secretly as possible, with a View to re-enter his own Dominions, and invade those of his Brother. His private Intrigues were however discover'd, in Consequence of which, he was declared a Traitor, he was likewise banished by the Advice of the Nobility, and was constrain'd to retire into *Pomerania*. This Province took up Arms once more in his Favour, but without any Effect. *Sbigna* was at last taken Prisoner:

Prisoner, whilst he was in Arms against his Prince and Country; but tho' he justly merited Death, and the Nobility were unanimous for his being punished with the utmost Severity, yet *Boleslaus* paid a respectful Regard to the Blood of their common Father, which flowed in the Veins of his Brother, as criminal as he had proved, and was satisfied with enjoining him not to enter *Poland*. *Sbigna* wander'd a long Time from Province to Province, and vainly endeavour'd to interest the neighbouring Powers in his Favour, 'till he at last became contemptible to every People. He was reduced to a very destitute Condition, and Necessity at length constrain'd him to have Recourse to the Clemency of the Prince he had so frequently offended. *Boleslaus* was touched with the Tears of his Brother, and the Assurances he gave him of a perpetual Fidelity: But the Faith of an Impostor subsists no longer than he finds it advantageous to retain it. *Sbigna* expected to be one Day re-instated in his former Condition, and he formed a Conspiracy to effect that Event: But his Practices were all detected, and he at last suffer'd the usual Fate of Traitors. Some Historians relate, that he was slain by the Nobility, who were apprehensive that this turbulent Spirit would one Day be fatal to the State. Others affirm, that he was only condemned to lose his Eyes, and that he lived a considerable Time after the Infliction of that Punishment, amidst the Contempt and Oblivion of all *Poland*.

1109.  
Henry V  
enters Po-  
land with an  
Army.

*Coloman* King of *Hungary* had drawn upon himself the Resentment of the Emperor *Henry V.* who was determin'd to dethrone him; and as he was apprehensive of being crushed by the Forces of

of so f  
*Boleslaus*  
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of so formidable an Enemy, he had Recourse to *Boleslaus* who form'd a powerful Diversion in *Bohemia*, in his Favour, and sent him a Body of Troops that defeated all the Efforts of the Emperor. *Henry* resolved to avenge himself on *Poland*, for the Unsuccessfulness of his Expedition against *Hungary*. He, at first, ravaged all *Silesia*, and afterwards laid Siege to *Lubusz*, which was render'd very strong by its Situation, and where he met with so vigorous a Resistance, that he was obliged to raise the Siege. This Disappointment did not prevent him from penetrating farther into the Country, but, *Boleslaus* compelled him to march back again; and without hazarding a general Engagement he almost entirely defeated the imperial Army, by Ambuscades, and Attacks in the Night, when the Situation of the Country, and the Consternation which generally attends Surprizals of that Nature, secured him the Advantage over his Enemy. The Emperor being at last within View of a City called *Glogow*, on the *Oder*, determin'd to besiege it, in Hopes either of giving Battle to *Boleslaus*, if he should advance to relieve the Place; or, at least, of gaining, by taking that City, some Compensation for the Losses he had sustain'd. *Glogow* was almost destitute of Fortifications, but the Courage of the Inhabitants furnished it with a Rampart that was impenetrable to all the Efforts of the Imperialists. 'Till at last the Engines of War having demolished Part of the City Walls, the Besieged, who were apprehensive of being taken by Storm, began to capitulate, and promised to surrender, if their Prince did not come to their Assistance, in the Space of Six Days, with an Army powerful enough to keep the Field, and give Battle to that of the Emperor; and the Inhabitants



habitants delivered up their Children as Hostages, for securing their Performance of the Capitulation; after which they immediately sent Deputies to acquaint *Boleslaus* with what had been transacted, and to conjure him not to abandon his faithful Subjects, whom nothing but Compulsion could reduce to a foreign Yoke. The Duke hereupon assembled his Troops from all Quarters: The *Russians* likewise came to his Assistance, and great Levies were made in the Duchy of *Mazovia*, and the Palatinates of *Sandomir* and *Lublin*. But as the Interval was so short, all these Preparations for the Relief of the Place would have proved ineffectual, if it had surrendered at the Time stipulated by the Capitulation. *Boleslaus* therefore had Recourse to Prayers and Menaces, to oblige the Deputies to break the Treaty, and improve the Truce, in repairing their Ramparts, and likewise to sacrifice to the Welfare of the State, the Hostages they had given, rather than stain themselves with Infamy, and incur his Indignation, by opening their Gates to the Enemy, at a Time when all *Poland* and its Allies were advancing to their Relief.

This Discourse had the desired Effect, and the Deputies prevailed upon the Inhabitants to sustain a new Siege. The Walls and Ramparts were repaired with all possible Expedition, to check the first Fury of the Enemy; new Ditches were likewise dug in the City, and the Breaches were closed up with the Ruins of the Houses. Necessity found Soldiers and Pioneers, every Person assisted at the Works, without Distinction of Sex or Condition. In a Word, these gallant Inhabitants, whose Courage was more efficacious than the Valour of the most warlike Soldiers,

were

were resolutely determined either to preserve their City, or shed the last Drop of their Blood in the Defence of their Country.

The Emperor prepared to enter the City, at the Day fixed by the Capitulation, but he was received like an Enemy; and as he highly resented this Infraction of the Treaty, he immediately order'd his Troops to advance. The whole Army marched to the Walls and began to mount them; but the Imperialists were astonished to see a new Range of Fortifications in a City, which the Operation of their Machines had reduced to the last Extremity, a few Days before. The Depth of the Ditches which had been open'd during the Truce, stopped them in their Progress, and as they were unprovided with Fascines, they were obliged to retreat, thro' their Inability to surmount the Obstacles they so little expected. The Besieged pursued them with extraordinary Vigour, and slaughter'd them in great Numbers; so that the Emperor caused a Retreat to be sounded, in order to save the Lives of his Soldiers. He, however, imagined he had found a sure Expedient for making himself Master of *Glogow*, and for avenging himself on the Perfidy of the Inhabitants, without hazarding his Troops. He caused the Hostages to be placed in the first Ranks, with a Persuasion that Nature would cause the Parents of those unhappy Children to suspend their Hostilities, and that they would not direct their Weapons against their own Bowels. The Imperialists, therefore, return'd to the Assault, with new Ardour, they planted their Ladders, and caused the young Hostages to ascend before them, notwithstanding which, the Love of their Country was more prevalent than Paternal Tenderneſs, in the Hearts of the Besieged, and  
the

the Consideration of their Duty render'd them insensible of the Objects that were dearest to them. They pierced the Breasts of their own Sons, in order to plunge their Daggers in the Bosom of their Foes. Never was any Attack better sustain'd; even the Women shared the Glory of that Action. They animated their Husbands, and for Want of better Arms, hurled a Shower of Stones, and a Torrent of flaming Pitch on the Enemies. The Imperialists were repulsed from every Quarter, and their Assaults, tho' often renew'd, were always ineffectual. The Inhabitants therefore of *Glogow* defended themselves with so much Bravery, that they did not even need the Assistance of *Boleslaus*; and the Emperor was at last compelled to quit the Siege of a Place, which he had looked upon as a certain Conquest.

The Emperor defeated, and a Treaty of Peace between the two Princes.

*Boleslaus* pursued him in his Retreat, and came up with him, at a little Distance from *Warsaw*, obliging him, at the same Time, to have Recourse to an ignominious Flight, and to quit the Ensigns of his Dignity, for Fear of falling into the Hands of the *Poles*. A Peace was concluded the ensuing Year, and the two Princes confirmed it by a double Alliance. *Boleslaus* espoused *Bamberg* the Emperor's Sister, and that Monarch likewise presented him with his Daughter, in order to celebrate her Nuptials with the Prince of *Poland*, when she should attain the proper Age for that State.

1113.  
The Crusades.

All Europe was, at that Time, in Motion, in Consequence of the Crusades, and those devout Enterprises were then consider'd as the most effectual Means for obtaining a Remission of Sins. Those who engaged in them were loaded with Indul-

Indulgences and Pardons, and Men, Women, and Children, were prompted by an indiscreet Zeal to engage, with a Kind of Emulation, in those foreign Expeditions. Pope *Urban II.* being touched, in the Council of *Autun*, with the Cruelties committed by the Infidels, against the Christians who inhabited the Holy Land, and with their injurious Treatment of Pilgrims, was the first Projector of these Crusades, which almost exhausted *Europe* of its Inhabitants. He likewise engaged a Number of great Lords to join Forces, for the Conquest of that Country, and his Discourse was so prevailing that above 300000 Men lifted themselves under the Banners of the Cross, and pass'd into the East, with many sovereign Princes at their Head. *Godfrey* Duke of *Bulloign* and the lower *Lorrain*, was constituted the General for this Expedition; and his Valour was a sufficient Justification of that Choice.

Several Kings and Popes derived equal Advantages from these Crusades. Part of the Christian Troops conducted *Urban* to *Rome*, in their March thro' *Italy*, and re-establish'd him in his See, notwithstanding all the Opposition of his Enemies; and these military Swarms disembarassed several Kings from the excessive Number of Nobility, who had almost assumed the same Rank with themselves, and these Wars destroy'd the greatest Part of those untractable Lords who opposed the despotic Power of their Sovereigns, and were too jealous of their own Prerogatives. All these Expeditions likewise furnished a Pretext for new Taxes, whose Product was frequently apply'd to such Uses as were contrary to the first Design of their Imposition, and only redounded to the Profit of Princes and Popes.



The Armies of the Crusade, obtain'd several Victories, and penetrated as far as *Jerusalem* itself, into which they made their Entrance on the Fifteenth Day of *July*, 1099. The Kingdom of *Jerusalem* rose out of this Conquest, and *Godfrey* of *Bulloign* was the first King. The Zeal exerted in the Defence of so glorious an Acquisition, and in which all *Europe* interested itself, gave Birth to two famous Orders that greatly contributed to its Preservation. The Templars appeared in the Year 1118; and the Knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem* were created the ensuing Year. The *Poles*, as well as other Nations, had a Share in these Crusades, as will be evident in the Sequel of this History.

1820.  
*Gelasius* and  
*Calixtus II*  
Popes.

During these Transactions, *Henry V.* had been excommunicated by the Council of *Lateran*, as has been already observed, and the Cardinals, after the Death of *Paschal*, had elected *Gelasius II.* without the Emperor's Consent, tho' he was then in *Italy*; and this Monarch was so offended at their Proceeding that he refused to acknowledge the new Pope, and he caused a *Spaniard* to be elected, who took the Name of *Gregory*, and then pursued *Gelasius*, who retired into *France* with his Cardinals, and died in the Abby of *Clugni*, a Year and some Days after the Commencement of his Pontificate. The Conclave was held in the same Place, where *Gelasius* died, and *Guy* Archbishop of *Vienna*, of the House of the Counts of *Burgundy* carried all the Suffrages, and called himself *Calixtus II.* This Pope, who was as illustrious for his Piety as he was for his Birth, had the Glory to terminate the Schism, and Divisions, which had so long subsisted between the Empire and the Priesthood. When his

his Election was over, he went to *Rome*, and seized, by the Way, the Antipope who had shut himself up in *Sutri*, and suffer'd him to perish in a dismal Prison. The Emperor, who was excommunicated anew by the Council of *Rheims*, being sensible that it was headed by a Pope as intrepid as powerful, began to be apprehensive lest the Affair relating to the Investitures should be as fatal to him, as it had proved to his Father: For which Reason he at last renounced that Right, in the first general Council of *Lateran*, which *Calixtus* had assembled on that Occasion.

*Boleslaus* was fear'd and respected by all the Nations that border'd on his Dominions. *Bobemia*, *Prussia*, *Pomerania*, *Moravia*, and *Russia* had often experienc'd the Force of his Arms, and the Empire itself was proud of such an Ally. *Denmark* was now the Scene in which his Courage and Abilities were equally conspicuous. The Motives to this Expedition were lawful, and no Way resulted from Ambition. That Kingdom groan'd under the Tyranny of the Usurper *Abel*, who had waded to the Throne thro' the Blood of *Henry*, his Brother, and his King, but he did not long enjoy the Fruit of his Crime. *Peter* a *Danish* Nobleman had settled in *Poland*, where he found an honourable Asylum. *Boleslaus* conferr'd upon him a Profusion of Favours, made him his most intimate Confidant, and, in order to attach him the more to his Interest, he caused him to espouse a Princess of *Russia*, who brought him a large Addition to his Fortune. The Father of this Lord resided in *Denmark*, and had, in his Possession, the Treasures of the late King *Henry*; but as he was far advanced in Years, he

1124.  
The Expedition into  
Denmark.

thought it incumbent on him to conceal so rich a Deposite, in order to frustrate the Avidity of the Tyrant. With this View he transmitted a secret Intimation to his Son, that he had all the Treasures of the Crown of *Denmark* at his Disposal; that very few Persons had any Knowledge of that Deposite, and that he was determined to consign it to no Mortal but his Son; and that it therefore was his Interest, to concert such proper Measures as might enable him to secure those immense Riches, and convey them into *Poland*. The *Danish* Lord communicated this Account to *Boleslaus*, and intreated that Prince to assist him with a Body of his Troops. *Boleslaus* not only promised him all the Aid in his Power, but had even the Generosity to charge himself with the Accomplishment of this Affair. He caused a Fleet to be fitted out, and landed in *Denmark*, after a favourable Voyage. He made the Death of King *Henry* the Pretext for his Vengeance, and the very Mention of his Name, so dear to that People, immediately roused them into a Rebellion against the Usurper, who was compell'd, for the Preservation of his Life, to abandon a Throne he had acquir'd by his Crimes, and which he wanted Courage to defend. *Boleslaus* having thus made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, might have been its Monarch, if he had pleased, as well as its Deliverer, but he had no Intention to lay any Constraint on the Suffrages, and he restor'd to the Nobility all the Places he had conquer'd; as being fully satisfied with the Glory he had acquired; he therefore set Sail with all the Treasures of *Peter*, and returned in Triumph to *Poland*.

*Calixtus*

*Calixtus* was succeeded by *Honorius II.* and new Troubles were created in the Church by the Death of this last Pope; the Cardinals were divided among themselves, and they elected two Popes in one Day. The Majority and most devout Members of the sacred College adhered to *Innocent*; whilst *Peter of Leon*, who assumed the Name of *Anaclet*, had only a few Cardinals in his Interest, but then he was the most potent Person in *Rome*. *Innocent* took Refuge in *France*, where he was acknowledged in the Council of *Etampes*, by the Influence of *Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*. The Emperor *Lotharius*, who succeeded *Henry V.* offer'd likewise to acknowledge *Innocent*, provided he would resign to him the Investitures. *St. Bernard*, who at that Time was the Oracle of all *Europe*, concerted such Measures, that this Monarch desisted from his Pretensions, and submitted, without Reserve, to the lawful Pope. The Steadiness and Exhortations of the Abbot were as prevalent with *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, who had warmly espoused the Party of *Anaclet*. The Examples of the Empire and *France* drew after them all the rest of *Europe*, and *Innocent* was obey'd by all, but *Robert* Duke of *Sicily*, to whom *Anaclet* had granted the Title of King, and who persisted in his Obedience to that Antipope. He even substituted a Successor to him, who took the Name of *Victor II.* but rather with a View to come to a better Accommodation with the See of *Rome*, than with any Intention to continue the Schism. *Victor* threw himself at the Feet of the lawful Pope, and *Roger* acknowledged *Innocent*, who in his Turn acknowledged the Regal Title of *Roger*, and the remaining Sparks of the Divisions were extinguished in

1130.  
*Honorius II.*  
Pope. New  
Troubles in  
the Church.



Troubles in  
the Empire.

the second General Council of *Lateran*. The Empire was rent, at the same Time, by a Schism, which, by an Effect of good Fortune, was not productive of such fatal Events as that of the Church. *Lotharius* had been elected Emperor in the Room of *Henry V.* as we have already intimated, but some of the Electors, who were dissatisfied with that Choice, elected *Conrade* Duke of *Suabia*, soon afterwards. The Difference was at last decided by a single Battle, in which *Conrade* was defeated, and he then desisted from his Pretensions, and reconciled himself intirely to *Lotharius*, who received the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, from the Hands of Pope *Innocent*.

1135.

Fortune, at last, abandon'd *Boleslaus*, and his Credulity prov'd fatal to him. An *Hungarian* Emiffary of *Wasilkon* Prince of *Russia*, came to implore his Protection, and assured him that he had been divested of all his Estate, on Account of the Zeal he discover'd for the House of *Stephen* King of *Hungary*, and added that he owed his Preservation from Death to a timely Flight. The Duke received him in an honourable Manner, and gave him the Government of *Wislica*, a strong Place on the *Nida*, but the Traitor, in the Absence of *Boleslaus*, deliver'd up that City to the *Russians*, who were admitted without any Difficulty, upon which they immediately sacked it; and when they had set it on Fire, they carried off all the Inhabitants into *Russia*. This Calamity was succeeded by another that was still more considerable. The *Russians*, who had always been defeated in the open Field, had Recourse to Treachery, in order to revenge all the Losses they had sustain'd, and *Boleslaus* was easily betray'd into the Snare they had prepar'd for him. Upon receiving a

Depu-

Deputation from the Inhabitants of *Halitz*, who pretended to implore his Assistance, in Favour of their Prince *Jarosslaus*, who had been banished into *Poland*, he marched towards that City with a Body of Troops, whose Number was indeed inconsiderable, but they were composed of the bravest Men in *Poland*. When he had approached within a small Distance of the City, all the Forces of *Russia* pour'd upon him. The *Poles* fought like Men animated by Desperation, and sold their Lives very dear; but they were at last overwhelmed with Numbers. Most of them were slain on the Spot, and their Duke saved himself with much Difficulty.

The Emperor *Lotharius* dying on the *Alps*,  
near *Trent*, was succeeded by *Conrade* Duke of  
*Suabia*, who had been his Competitor. *Henry*  
Duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and Son-in-Law to  
*Lotharius*, seem'd inclinable to dispute the Em-  
pire with him; but he was abandon'd by all his  
Friends, and *Conrade* divested him of his Dom-  
inions.

1138.

The Death  
of *Lotha-  
rius*, and E-  
lection of  
*Conrade*.

The Death of the Emperor *Lotharius* was fol-  
low'd by that of the Duke of *Poland*, at the Age  
of Fifty Four Years, and after a Reign of Thir-  
ty Six; his Death was occasion'd by the Morti-  
fication he conceived for the Loss of *Wislica*, and  
his Defeat at *Halitz*. War was the constant Em-  
ployment of this Prince; he had headed his Ar-  
mies from his early Youth, was victorious in ma-  
ny Battles, and he kept the fierce People he had  
conquer'd, in Subjection to *Poland*; but he want-  
ed Resolution to support the least unfavourable  
Turn of Fortune. His open Disposition render'd  
him too credulous, and as he was incapable of

1139.

The Death  
of the Em-  
peror *Lotha-  
rius*, and of  
*Boleslaus*.

imposing upon others, he could hardly imagine he should be deceived himself.

*Uladislaus*  
II. Duke of  
*Poland.*  
1140.

*Boleslaus* had divided his Dominions into Four Branches; for each of his Children. *Uladislaus*, his eldest Son, had his Lot in the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sirad*, *Lencici*, *Silesia*, and *Pomerania*. *Boleslaus* had the Duchy of *Mazovia*, with the Territories of *Culm* and *Cujavia*; *Miecslaus*, the Palatinates of *Posnania*, and *Kalisch*; and *Henry* those of *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*. *Casimir*, the youngest Son, who was then in his Cradle, had not any Share of his Father's Dominions.

When *Boleslaus* was dead, the Four Princes made their Applications to the General Assembly of the States, who were then met at *Cracow*, to ratify the Dispositions of the late Duke, and to confirm them in the Possession of the Provinces he had assign'd them. The States, besides this Affair, were to determine on the Choice of a Duke of *Poland*. The Election was suspended for some Time, but the Nobility declared, at last, in Favour of *Uladislaus* II. It was likewise decreed that the Four Brothers should enjoy their Duchies, and be considered as Princes, but subordinate, at the same Time, to their Brother *Uladislaus*; and that they should not engage in any War, nor conclude a Peace, without his Approbation; that they should be obliged to present themselves before him with their Troops, whenever he should need their Assistance, and that he should have the Guardianship of young *Casimir*, whom he was to educate in a Manner suitable to his Birth.

This Treaty was soon violated, at the Instigation of an ambitious Princess. *Christina* the Consort of *Uladislaus*, and the Daughter and Sister of

of

of two Emperors \*, and whose high Birth was exceeded by her Pride, was extremely mortified to see her Brothers-in-Law, reign over part of *Poland*, and she concerted Measures to divest them of their Dominions. The first Pace she took, in order to succeed in her Scheme, was to induce her Husband to concur in that Affair; and *Uladislaus*, who was altogether as ambitious as herself, easily enter'd into her Views: But, as it would have been dangerous to attack those Princes, without some Pretext to palliate that Proceeding, with the Appearance of Justice, and as it would likewise be difficult to expel them from their Territories, in Violation of a solemn Treaty, *Christina* had Recourse to a Reason of State; and when she had convoked an Assembly at *Cracow*, she represented to the Members, that the Partition of the Kingdom was contrary to the fundamental Laws of a Monarchy, and would inevitably be attended with fatal Effects; that all the Measures that could be formed, to prevent the Body of the State from being dismembred, and for the Reunion of those Parties that were divided under so many Chiefs, would prove chimerical, and be render'd impracticable in the Event; that the last Commotions which *Sbigna* had excited, ought to make them apprehensive of the like Disorders; and that it was therefore necessary to disannul the Partition, and render Obedience only to one Prince, in order to secure the Honour and Tranquillity of *Poland*.

This Discourse offended several of the Nobility; and some of them had the Resolution to declare that the Dispositions of the late Duke had been ratified by an Assembly of the whole Nation; and that, consequently, it ought not to be

\* She was the Daughter of *Henry IV.* and the Sister of *Henry V.*  
infringed;



infringed ; that *Uladislaus* had been acknowledged the sole Head of the Republick ; and therefore no Deviation had been made from the ancient Maxims of the Government ; that instead of the Partition being injurious to the Republick, it was rather to be supposed that a Multiplicity of Princes, united under one Head, would augment the Power of the State, and secure the Happiness and Tranquillity of the People ; that the Example of *Sbigna* could no longer create any bad Impressions ; and that if any one of those Princes should presume to abuse the Authority confided in him, the Recollection of the Punishment which attended a former Traitor, would be sufficient to restrain him within those Limits of his Duty, which the Example of *Sbigna*, might otherwise incline him to transgress.

*Uladislaus*  
invites *Russian*  
Troops in-  
to *Poland*.

*Uladislaus*, at that time, dissembled his ambitious Projects, without suffering them to disappear from his View ; and as he was sensible that he should be opposed by the People, he turn'd his Thoughts to foreign Assistance ; and caused a Body of *Russians* to enter *Poland*, in order to be ready when he should have occasion for their Aid. He afterwards endeavoured to win the Nobility over to his Interest, and a great Number of Lords, accordingly, join'd him, some from the Motives of Interest, others through Fear ; and the *Danish* Count *Peter*, whom we have formerly mention'd, was almost the only Person who openly espoused the Cause of the three young Princes. He even made lively Remonstrances to *Uladislaus*, with respect to the Infraction of the Treaty, and boldly reproached him for his Ambition. This was sufficient to kindle the Resentment of that Prince. *Christina* likewise conceived herself to be injured by some Expressions of that Nobleman,

which

which reflected on her Honour; for which Reason she caused him to be seized and carried off from *Breslau*, at the very Time when he was celebrating the Nuptials of his Daughter with the Deputy of *Servia*; and this Princess, who was equally cruel and vindictive, caused him to be deprived of his Eyes, and likewise order'd his Tongue to be cut out.

The Cruelty  
of *Christina*.

As the Count was the only Person who was capable of ballancing the Power of *Uladislaus*, by his Riches and Credit, when this Obstacle was once surmounted, the Duke of *Poland* no longer confined himself within the Bounds of Moderation. He easily drove *Boleslaus* from *Ploczko*, and *Henry* from *Sandomir*: and these Princes retired to their Brother *Miecslaus*, in *Pofnania*, where they were soon afterwards besieged. *James* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, surrender'd without any Hesitation, dispatched some Barons, to soften the inhuman Disposition of *Uladislaus*; but all their Endeavours were unavailing, and their Submissions affected him as little as their Menaces. *Uladislaus* rather seem'd more haughty and inflexible; and as he despised the inconsiderable Number of the Besieged, and the Weakness of the Place, he summon'd them to surrender at Discretion, and submit to the Laws of the Conqueror. This severe Treatment drove the Besieged to Desperation, caused them to form a Project that seem'd rash and dangerous, tho' it was easily Practicable, because it was not foreseen. As the Besiegers conceived themselves to be in the utmost Security, they kept but a slender Guard in their Camp, and most of the Soldiers frequently render'd themselves incapable of fighting, by their Intemperance. The Besieged, therefore, improved the  
favou-

1115.

favourable Moment, and sallied from several Quarters of the City. The *Russians*, who form'd the most considerable Body of the Troops of *Uladislaus*, immediately took the Alarm; all was in Confusion in their Quarter, and the Enemy carried Fire and Sword thro' every Part, before their Adversaries, could be in any Condition to defend themselves. The Disorder was diffused through the rest of the Army; and every one had Recourse to Flight. *Uladislaus* himself was carried along with the Torrent of Fugitives, and left all his Baggage as a Prey to the Enemy, whose Weakness had made him think them incapable of such a desperate Attempt.

The three Brothers were careful to improve this Victory, and they easily recover'd the Cities that had been allotted to them by their Father; after which they advanced towards *Cracow*, whither *Uladislaus* had retired after his Defeat. And as he knew himself to be incapable of opposing them, he durst not wait for their Arrival. In this Extremity he retired into *Germany*, after he had fortified the Citadel of *Cracow*, where he left his Wife and Children. He flatter'd himself that his Return would be speedy, and that the Emperor would send him back with a Body of Troops, since he was allied to him by his Wife. But all his Applications were ineffectual, because some Affairs of more Consequence, had drawn all the Imperial Forces to another Quarter. The Brothers, therefore, form'd the Siege of *Cracow*; and as the Inhabitants had no Hopes of any Succours; their Apprehensions of being forced, caused them to open their Gates, after a faint Resistance. The Citadel follow'd the Example of the Town, and *Christina*, that imperious Princess who was so desirous of invading the Dominions of her Brother-

in-law,

in-law, beheld herself divested of her own, and compelled to seek an Asylum, in a foreign Country. She was sent back to *Germany*, with her three Sons, and *Boleslaus*, the second Son of *Boleslaus II.* was declared Duke of *Poland*, by the whole Nation.

*Uladislaus* and *Christina*, solicited the Emperor *Boleslaus IV.* to assist them with Troops for the Recovery of their Dominions; but the holy War, in which that Monarch was then engaged, not permitting him to turn his Thoughts to other Expeditions, the *Polish* Prince could only obtain from him an inconsiderable Body of Forces, with which he made a few Incursions into *Poland*, without being in a Condition, to undertake any Action of Consequence; and he even lost those few Succours in a short Time; for the Emperor having thought it proper to pass through *Poland*, in his Progress to the East, was received by *Boleslaus* with so much Magnificence, that he immediately discontinued all Hostilities, and brought the four Brothers to an Accommodation at his Return. A great Number of the *Polish* Nobility engaged in the Crusade, and attended the Emperor in that Expedition.

This Crusade was render'd ineffectual by the Treachery of the *Greeks*. *Manuel*, Emperor of the East, poison'd part of the Christian Army, by mixing Lime among their Corn; and great numbers of them were destroyed by the Infidelity of the Guides, who betrayed them into the Hands of the *Saracens*, with whom that Emperor maintain'd an Intelligence. *Lewis* King of *France*, who had followed the *German* Emperor, at the Head of another Army, had no better Success than that Prince: he was even attacked, in his Return, by the Naval Forces of the *Greeks*, and they would have made him their Prisoner, had it



it not been for the unexpected Assistance of the *Normans*, who dispersed them, and deliver'd the King from the Danger wherein he was engaged.

1149:  
The Empe-  
ror *Conrade*  
enters *Pol-*  
*land*.

*Conrade*, after his Return to *Germany*, devoted his Attention to the Affairs of *Poland*, and demanded a Restitution of the Dominions of *Uladislaus*, from the Duke his Brother : but his Mediation being rejected, he assembled a Body of Troops, with an Intention to enter *Poland*. His Army was augmented by its Conjunction with the *Bobemians*, and *Moravians*, whom *Uladislaus* had interested in his Quarrel, and all things now seem'd disposed for a bloody War ; which might have been fatal to *Poland* in the Event, had not *Boleslaus* averted the Storm by his Prudence. He demanded a Passport from the Emperor, and went to his Camp as soon as he had obtain'd it. He was admitted into the Council, where he delivered him with so much Energy ; and demonstrated the Injustice, and ambitious Views of *Uladislaus*, in so effectual a Manner, that he, at last undeceived the Emperor. Care was likewise taken, to distribute Money, at the same Time, with great Profusion ; upon which *Conrade* retired with his Troops, and made his ill State of Health, the Pretext for that Proceeding.

After the Retreat of so formidable an Enemy, *Poland* enjoy'd a Peace, for some Years, under the prudent Government of *Boleslaus*, and his Brothers. *Henry*, who was one of them, and likewise Duke of *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, as has been already observed, took an Opportunity in this Interval of Peace, to make a Progress to the East, in order to signalize his Courage in those Parts. He embark'd with a considerable Body of brave Volunteers, and arrived at *Jerusalem*,  
after

after a prosperous Voyage. The Succours he brought, repelled the Efforts of the *Saracens*, for some Time, but after he had continued in the holy Land, for the space of a Year, and had lost most of the Troops that follow'd him in that Expedition, he returned, with much Reluctance, to *Poland*, where he was received in a triumphant Manner, with the general Acclamations of his People. But this religious Prince not being satisfied with the Assistance he afforded the oriental Christians, was resolved to transmit to Posterity, some Tokens of his Charity, and Zeal for the Preservation of the holy Land; and with that View he left large Donations in his Territories, to the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, and also to the Templars.

The Emperor *Conrade III.* dying in the Year 1153, and the Electors having confer'd the Empire on *Frederick*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, Duke of *Suabia*, the unhappy *Uladislaus* implored the Assistance of that Prince, and he succeeded so well, that *Frederick* was determined to reinstate him in his Dominions. With this Intention, he enter'd *Poland* with a powerful Army of *Germans*, and *Bohemians*; and *Boleslaus* with his Brothers awaited the Approach of the Imperialists, at the Head of a gallant Body of Troops, and their first Design was to engage the Emperor, upon his Arrival; but they changed their Sentiments, when they beheld the formidable Appearance of the Imperial Army, and the numerous Troops that composed it, and resolved to divide their Forces, and attack the Enemy, only by Ambuscades, and Surprisals. These Expedients had already been successful, under the Conduct of *Boleslaus III.* who, without drawing on a general Engagement,

1158.  
*Frederick*  
*Barbarossa*  
demands the  
Reestablishment of *Uladislaus*.

ment, had defeated the Emperor *Henry*, in 1109; The three Brothers separated from each other, with this Intention, after which they ravaged the Country, and set Fire to all the Towns, that were in no Condition to sustain a Siege, that, by these Means, they might starve the Enemies, and leave them nothing to Plunder. The Imperial Army, in Consequence of this Proceeding, was soon reduced to the utmost Extremity, for Want of Provisions and Forage. Whenever the Soldiers appear'd, the *Poles*, who continually hover'd about their Quarters, never fail'd to fall upon them, and carry off the Forages. The Famine among them was succeeded by a Dysentery, and this Distemper proved so fatal to them, that *Frederick* was almost Defeated, even before he had seen the Enemy; and therefore, that he might preserve his Honour, as much as possible, and avoid an entire Overthrow, he propos'd a Conference, before his Retreat, and it was agreed to, by the Dukes of *Poland*. *Boleslaus* came in Person to the Emperor's Camp, and a Peace was concluded. The three Brothers readily consented to the Return of *Uladislaus*; they likewise promised to lend the Emperor three hundred Lances, for the War in *Italy*; and a Treaty was confirmed between them, by the Marriage of *Miecslaus*, Duke of *Posnania*, with *Adelaida*, the Emperor's Niece.

1159.  
The Death  
of *Uladis-*  
*laus*.

*Uladislaus* derived no Benefit, from this advantageous Treaty; he had already made Preparations for his Return to *Poland*, and was followed by *Christina* and her three Sons; when he was taken off by Death, at *Aldemburg*; where this unfortunate Prince was interr'd; but his Children did not proceed to *Poland*, to assert their Claims as his Successors. The Circumstances of his Death

have

have induced some Historians to believe he was poisoned. *Boleslaus*, his eldest Son, attended the Emperor into *Italy*, and distinguished himself in such a Manner, by his Bravery at the Siege of *Milan*, that he gain'd the Esteem of the Emperor, and prevailed upon him to employ his Mediation, for the re-establishment of the Family of *Uladislaus*, in *Poland*. The Negotiation had a favourable Event, *Boleslaus* consign'd the Sovereignty of *Silesia* to his Nephews, which they were to hold as Homagers to him, and were likewise to acknowledge him as sole Monarch of *Poland*.

*Prussia*, which, till then, had been immersed in Idolatry and the Superstitions of a stupid Worship, was at last brought over to Christianity, by the Care of the Duke of *Poland*. His Dominions were in a State of Tranquillity, and he had no War to apprehend from his Neighbours; he therefore thought it advisable to improve so favourable a Conjuncture, for the entire Conquest of *Prussia*, and the Propagation of Christianity among them. *Miecslaus* and *Henry* his Brothers, attended him in this Expedition, and enter'd *Prussia*, with him, by three different Quarters. Nothing cou'd withstand them in their Progress, and they had already advanced into the Heart of the Country, without much Opposition, when some of the most considerable Persons among the *Prussians*, came to their Camp, to assure *Boleslaus* of their Obedience, and intreat him to withdraw his Troops; but the Duke refused to accept of the Peace, and Tribute they offer'd him, unless they would, at the same time, consent to be baptized. This Proposal was communicated to all the Nation, and they accepted it without any Hesitation; in Consequence of which, they destroyed their Idols,

I and



and consecrated Woods; a great Number of Pagans received the Ceremonial of Baptism, and several Priests were left in that Country, for the Instruction of the People, who seem'd to have been sincere in their Conversion to Christianity; tho', in Reality, their only Motive to that Conduct was the Dread they entertain'd of the Conqueror. When the *Polish* Army, therefore, had retired from their Country, the Number of those who continued faithful to their Engagements, was very inconsiderable; the greatest Part of the Nation relapsed into their antient Superstitions, and drove the Priests out of their Territories. This fierce People had even Recourse to Arms; they ravaged the Duchy of *Mazovia*, before any Measures could be concerted to oppose so unexpected an Irruption, or to cut them off in their Retreat, and they carried off a very considerable Booty, into their own Country.

1167.  
The Poles  
defeated in  
*Prussia*.

*Boleslaus* immediately resolved to revenge this perfidious Proceeding, and he assembled all the Forces of his Kingdom, to exterminate that barbarous Nation. The *Prussians* soon received Intelligence of these great Preparations for War, and as they were conscious of their Inability to oppose so powerful an Enemy, they had Recourse to Stratagems and their usual Frauds. In the *Polish* Army were four *Prussian* Deserters, who gain'd so much Credit there, that they were intrusted with the Care of marking out the Quarters; and the Routs that were to be taken; by which Means all the Motions and Welfare of the *Polish* Army depended on the Conduct of these Traitors: The *Prussian* Chiefs wrote privately to them, and offer'd to reward them in a very extraordinary Manner, if they would make some Attempt  
in

in Favour of their Country; and to the Destruction of their mortal Enemies the *Poles*. The Fidelity of these Deserters was easily shaken, and they agreed to the Proposal they had received. In Consequence of which, they changed the Routs, and then striking out into impracticable Ways, they drew the Army of *Henry* Duke of *Sandomir*, into Defiles between Mountains, the Tops of which were possessed by the *Prussians*, who were likewise Masters of all the Avenues. The Army was entirely defeated; *Henry* himself was slain in a miserable Manner; and it was with great Difficulty that *Boleslaus*, and his Brother *Miecslaus* escaped the same Fate. The bad Ways, and the Precipices they were obliged to surmount, in their Return to *Poland*, lost them a great Number of brave Soldiers, and all their Baggage.

This Defeat was succeeded by a civil War, 1169.  
which was excited by the Children of *Uladislaus* A Civil War  
II. who pretended to have great Cause for Com- kindled by  
plaint. They demanded a Restitution of the the Children  
Duchy of *Cracovia*, and a Share in the Succession of *Uladislaus*  
to their Uncle, which had entirely devolved on II. and end-  
*Casimir*, the youngest Son of *Boleslaus* III. They ed by the  
even raised their Pretensions as high as the Throne Prudence of  
it self, and declared that, as their Father had been *Boleslaus*.  
the Sovereign of *Poland*, *Boleslaus* had unjustly  
usurped their Rights; and as the Conjunctions at  
that Time, seem'd to present them with a favour-  
able Opportunity of enforcing their Claims, they  
strengthen'd their own Troops with a Body of  
German Auxiliaries. *Boleslaus* was not then in a  
Condition to oppose them, and they advanced  
to the very Gates of *Posnan*, without any Obstruc-  
tion. The Defeat in *Prussia* was too recent an  
Affair, and *Poland* would certainly have changed

its Master, in the weak Condition to which it was then reduced, if *Boleslaus* had not recurred to the Dexterity of Negotiation. The Sons of *Uladislaus*, tho' they were then victorious, and in a Condition to enlarge their Conquests, durst not refuse a Conference, for fear of rendering themselves odious to all the Nation. The Assembly, therefore, was held, and *Boleslaus* replied to all their Demands. He averr'd, that *Cracovia* could never be consider'd as Part of the Succession they claim'd to *Uladislaus*, because that Duchy had been united to the Crown, and could be possessed by none but the Person who wore it; that they had no just Pretensions to the Throne, tho' it had once been filled by their Father; because the national Choice was paramount to all hereditary Right; and lastly, that *Casimir*, who till then had never obtain'd any Allotment of his Father's Dominions, had been invested with the Territories of Duke *Henry*, by the Advice and Consent of the Nobility. These Reasons were satisfactory to all the Assembly; and tho' the Members were unanimous in their Opinion, that the Sons of *Uladislaus* had kindled an unjust War, yet, in order to extinguish all Pretences for Division, *Boleslaus* gave them the Possession of some Towns in *Silesia*, and agreed to a Partition of them, among his Nephews.

1173.  
His Death,

*Poland*, after the Conclusion of this Treaty, continued in a State of Tranquillity, and gradually recover'd it self from the Calamities it had sustain'd, by its Losses in *Prussia*, when a new Accident was on the Point of creating those Troubles that should always be dreaded, in elective Kingdoms, at the Death of each Prince. *Boleslaus* died at *Cracow* the Thirtieth of October, 1173, and bequeathed

bequeathed his Duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, to his Son *Lech*, to whom *Casimir* was constituted Guardian by his Direction. With Respect to the Succession to the Throne, *Miecslaus*, *Casimir*, and the eldest Son of *Uladislaus II.* might claim it as their Right, and there was Reason to be apprehensive that a War would be inevitable on this Article; but the sudden Election of *Miecslaus*, astonished all his Competitors, and his Title was unanimously acknowledged.

*Miecslaus*, surnamed the Old, on account of *Miecslaus* the Wisdom he discovered in his early Youth, <sup>III. called the Old.</sup> made it evident, that Prosperity can change the Heart. *Poland* was in Expectation of happy Times, under the Reign of a Prince, who had always appeared so equitable and prudent, but he disappointed the Hopes of that People, whose Affection had raised him to the Throne, in Opposition to all the Parties that had been formed to his Prejudice, and he became a Tyrant, the Moment he ceased to be a Subject.

He entirely resigned himself to such Favourites as were unworthy of the Confidence he reposed in them, and authorized them in all Sorts of Violence and Exactions. The Cries of the Oppressed no longer reached his Ear, or he listen'd to them with Contempt. The Riches of particular Persons became their Crime; he left nothing unattempted to fill his Coffers, and his Avarice was equal to the Profusion with which he dissipated all the Treasures he had amassed by his oppressive Conduct. His Passion for Hunting was so immoderate, that he frequently revenged the Death of some vile Animal, by severe Punishments inflicted on Persons of great Distinction. In a Word, *Miecslaus*, when he was only a Subject, was just, affable, and generous, and render'd



himself the Delight of *Poland*; but he no sooner gain'd the Sovereign Power, than he became cruel, and unjust; a Monster of Avarice, and the Horror of his People.

1177.

His most faithful of his Subjects, and particularly *Gideon* Bishop of *Cracow*, made lively Remonstrances to him, but in vain, for they were so far from making any Impressions on the Heart of this Prince, that they rather inflamed him into Madness. He threaten'd *Gideon* with Banishment, and vowed to confiscate the Estates of those who should presume to censure his Administration, or attempt to redress the Calamities of the State; till at last his tyrannical Proceedings exhausted all the Patience of the *Polish* Nobility. They secretly assembled together, and unanimously resolved on the Deposition of a Prince, who no longer merited that Title. The Choice of another Monarch was attended with greater Difficulties, than their Resolution to depose the Tyrant. The Lords were divided in their Sentiments, and this Contrariety might have been fatal to the Assembly, if *Stephen*, Palatine of *Cracow* had not made a lively Representation of the Danger to which they exposed themselves, by not agreeing in the Decision of an Affair, the Success of which entirely depended on a speedy Execution: He proposed, at the same Time, *Casimir* Duke of *Sandomir*, and drew such an engaging Portrait of this Prince, who was the youngest Son of *Boleslaus* III. that he gain'd all the Suffrages in his Favour, and Bishop *Gideon* was immediately deputed to make him a Tender of the Crown.

*Casimir*

*Casimir* declined this Honour, at first, and the Severity of his Vertue made him apprehensive of acting the Part of an Usurper, notwithstanding the Importunities of all the People, who invited him to the Throne. Vanquished at last, by their repeated Prayers, he accepted of the Dignity they had profer'd him, after a Protestation, that he was not influenced by any Motive of Ambition. He then advanced with his Troops, and was received in *Cracow*, as the Deliverer of *Poland*.

*Miecslaus* was then absent, and did not receive any Intelligence of his Deposition, till a considerable Time afterwards: but he then employed all his Efforts to raise an Army capable of replacing him on the Throne. He demanded Troops from the Dukes of *Bobemia*, *Saxony*, and *Lorrain*, but the Forces of these Princes were engaged elsewhere. *Miecslaus* therefore finding himself in no Condition to hazard a Battle, was obliged to continue in a state of Inaction, and had even the Mortification to lose the lower *Poland*, and *Pomerania*, which had been faithful to him till then. *Casimir*, therefore, ascended the Throne, without costing *Poland* one Drop of Blood, in the Accomplishment of that great Event.

The Conduct of this Prince justified the Choice of the Nobility, and did not falsify the high Opinion the People had entertain'd of his Vertue. As soon as he was settled on the Throne, he turn'd his Thoughts to the proper Expedients for correcting those Abuses, which had been introduced by the Male-Administration of *Miecslaus*, and to relieve the People from the Calamities under which they laboured. All the new Imposts were suppressed; he likewise order'd a Re-examination of the Proceedings against those who had been un-

justly condemned, and the Informers were severely punished.

As all the Peasantry, in general, were crushed by the Nobility, *Casimir* thought it most expedient to redress those unjust Vexations, by a general Assembly, which was accordingly held at *Lencici*, and at which all the *Polish* Bishops assisted, with their Metropolitan *Zazislaus*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, at their Head. Anathemas were thunder'd against those who should injuriously possess themselves of the Effects of the Peasants, and exact from them such Services as they were not obliged to render. Care was likewise taken to secure all Ecclesiastical Properties, by establishing Penalties against those who should invade them, and who should either pillage the Effects of Bishops after their Death, or authorize Seizures of Church Lands.

The Acts of this Council were transmitted to *Rome*, and *Casimir*, in order to add more Authority to these Decisions, caused them to be confirmed by the Pope.

*Alexander*  
III. Pope.

*Alexander* III. was then in the Chair of *St. Peter*, but his Pontificate was not unattended with Troubles. The Clergy of *Rome* rose against him on the very Day of his Exaltation, and engaged two Cardinals to elect another Pope. *Octavian* was accordingly chosen, and he assumed the Name of *Victor* IV. but was rejected by all the West, except the Emperor *Frederick*, who acknowledged this Antipope, and caused him to be confirmed in the Council of *Pisa*. This Scandal continued in the Church after the Death of *Victor*, and *Frederick* caused two other Antipopes to be successively elected. *Alexander* was obliged to take Refuge in *France*, and the Emperor himself was at last compelled to submit, in a dishonourable Manner,

Manner, for the Prevention of a Revolt which was forming against him in *Germany*, and he solemnly sued for Pardon from the Pope, who set his Foot upon his Neck in the City of *Venice*. The Antipope *Calixtus* likewise made his Submission, and the Schism came to a final Period in 1180. *Alexander* died in 1182.

*Miecslaus* not being able to recover his Dominions by Force of Arms, had Recourse to Supplications. This unfortunate Prince had not only lost his Crown, but likewise his hereditary Lands, and was reduced to an extreme Degree of Indigence, which more sensibly affected a dethroned King. While he was in this calamitous Situation he writ to *Casimir*, who was easily moved by the Prayers of a Brother, who had been his Sovereign, and against whom he had no particular Cause of Complaint. *Casimir* even offer'd to resign to him the Throne, and this he would certainly have done, if his Intentions had not been oppos'd by all the Nobility, who threatned to depose him, and neither to acknowledge him, nor any other Prince. *Casimir*, however, was so touched with Compassion at the deplorable State to which his Brother was reduced, that he left nothing unattempted to relieve him in his Misfortunes, in which Conduct he discover'd a Generosity very singular in its Nature, with Respect to a rival Brother. He even facilitated his Conquest of *Gnesna*, and all the Lower *Poland*, and furnished him with the Means of wresting Part of his Dominions even from himself.

The ambitious *Miecslaus* was ungrateful and perfidious: When he became Master of *Gnesna* contrary to his Hopes, he extended these yet farther, and formed a secret Conspiracy to seize the Crown from a Brother, who had, in some Measure,



Measure, shared his Empire with him. His first View was to possess himself of the Duchies of *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, which belonged to *Lech* the Son of *Boleslaus*, and who had been consigned to the Tutelage of *Casimir*. *Miecslaus* gain'd upon Count *Zira*, who had an absolute Ascendant over the young Prince, and perswaded him to quit the Court of *Casimir*, in order to throw himself into *Gnesna*. *Lech* comply'd with this Advice, which, had it not been for the Moderation of *Casimir*, would have kindled a civil War; but this virtuous Prince sacrificed all Resentment at his Brother's Conduct, to the Welfare of the State, and contented himself with preventing the Effects of those secret Practices which had been imparted to him. *Lech*, who had retired to *Miecslaus*, was sensible to what Extremes that Prince was capable of being precipitated by his Ambition; since he already, under a Pretext to preserve the Dominions of his Nephew, had seized all the Towns in *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, and placed such Officers and Garrisons there, as were entirely at his Devotion. Count *Zira*, who was despised the Moment he became no longer useful, thought himself obliged, as well in Interest as in Reputation, to carry off *Lech*, and conduct him to *Casimir*, who receiv'd him in a very affectionate Manner, and re-establish'd the Authority of his Pupil, after he had compelled *Miecslaus* to evacuate the Places he had usurped. *Lech* died soon after these Transactions, and appointed *Casimir*, the Heir to his Dominions.

*Saladin*, King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, having received Intelligence of the Departure of the *Christian* Princes, and likewise of the Division which reigned among those who continued at *Jerusalem*, besieged that City, and carried it in Fourteen Days,

Days, in the Reign of *Guy of Lusignan*. The News of this unfortunate Event caused great Emotions in *Europe*, and excited all the Kings in Christendom to a new Crusade, in order to reconquer the Holy City. Persons of all Ranks engaged in this foreign Expedition, and even the poorest contributed to the Expence of the War, the Success of which was, however, contrary to the Hopes that had been entertain'd from such extraordinary Preparations: all Churches were taxed to a certain Sum, and that of *Poland* distinguish'd itself in a peculiar Manner by its Liberalities. Cardinal *Malabranka* came into that Kingdom to levy the Tenth, and likewise to reform the Clergy. This Species of Tribute, which *Rome* exacted, was punctually paid, but the Reformation was more difficult to be accomplish'd, notwithstanding all the Regulations that could be made in that Article.

The Emperor *Frederic* was the first of the *European* Princes who arriv'd in the *East*, in Opposition to all the Efforts made by the *Greeks* to obstruct his Passage; and he, at first, obtain'd very considerable Advantages over the Enemy, but he was unhappily drowned, in a River of *Armenia*. This Misfortune might, however, have been repaired by his Son *Frederic*, who had already signaliz'd himself in several Exploits; but the young Prince was carried off by a contagious Distemper, which destroy'd a considerable Part of the *Christian* Army.

The Expedition of *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip Augustus* King of *France* was equally unsuccessful. The Plague made great Devastations among the *Christian* Troops, and their Divisions compleated their Destruction; by which Means, all the Benefit which resulted from this Enterprize,

Enterprize, the Ardour of which had unpeopled *Europe*, and impoverished the richest Churches, was a Truce of Three Years, which was obtain'd, by restoring to *Saladine* all the Places that were conquer'd from him.

During the Course of these Transactions, a black Conspiracy was formed in *Poland*, against *Casimir*. This Prince was then engaged in a War with *Russia*, which he had undertaken with a View to re-establish *Uladimir* in the Duchy of *Halicz*, of which he had been divested by the *Hungarians*. This Expedition displeased a great Number of the Nobility, whom private Interests had united with the *Hungarians*, and who, in order to disconcert a Project they disapproved, resolv'd to recall *Miecslaus*, and open the Gates of *Cracow* to him. They caused a Report to be spread, that *Casimir* had been poison'd in *Russia*, and this Falshood facilitated the Admission of *Miecslaus* into *Cracow*, where he fortify'd himself. The Citadel, however, made a bold Resistance, and *Casimir*, having by his Presence dissipated the Report of his Death, the Conspirators were universally oppos'd. The Usurper was soon obliged to have Recourse to Flight, and was too happy in escaping with Life. All the Forts he had erected immediately surrendred, and his Son *Boleslaus*, to whose Care he had confided them, fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. *Casimir*, even on this Occasion, gave the usual Proofs of his Clemency and Moderation. The Prisoners were dismissed with Ransom, and even furnished with every Thing necessary to their Return into their Country. The victorious *Casimir* condescended to demand Peace of a rebellious Brother, whom he was in a Condition to have crush'd for ever.

The

The last Action of this amiable Prince, was the Conquest of *Prussia*, and the Execution of his Vengeance for the Death of Duke *Henry* his Brother. *Casimir* died at *Cracow*, either of an apoplectic Fit, or by Poison infused in a Liquor, which carried him off in a few Hours, amidst all his Courtiers. He refused the Crown twice, and was only prevailed upon to accept of it for the publick Good. He likewise offer'd to resign it, when he imagined that Conduct necessary to the Welfare of the Republick. He never engaged in any War without an equitable Hesitation, and always made Prudence the Concomitant of his Courage. All the Actions of his Life were dignify'd by a Grandeur of Soul that was far exalted above all Ambition. The full Extent of his Genius was necessary to preserve him from being the Victim to his own Clemency, and the Dupe to his gentle Disposition. He was an illustrious Model for good Kings, whose Duty it is to sacrifice themselves to the Welfare of their People.

It is difficult to repair the Loss of so great a Prince by a suitable Successor. The Bishop of *Cracow* appear'd at the Head of those who were desirous of electing *Lech* the eldest Son of *Casimir*, to the Throne. The tender Age of this Prince was the only Obstacle to his Election, and he was favour'd by the generality of the Lords and People: But it was thought dangerous to confide the Administration of that State to the Weakness of an Infant, or the Ambition of his Tutors, and as much respected as the Memory of the late King was among them, the Apprehension of such Troubles as commonly attend a Minority, proved a Motive for the Exclusion of *Lech*. *Miecslaus the Old*, Duke of Lower Poland, and another

He is succeeded by his Son *Lech*.



other *Miecslaus*, Duke of *Oppelen* in *Silesia*, and Son of *Uladislaus* II. had, each of them, a powerful Party, who were determin'd, that either one or the other should be their Prince. The Eloquence of the Bishop of *Cracow* prevailed, and *Lech*, surnam'd *the White*, was elected and crowned: After which, the same Bishop, and Count *Nicholas* Palatine of *Cracow*, were constituted Tutors to the young Prince. *Conrade*, the second Son of *Casimir*, was declared Duke of *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, under the Tutelage of the same Lords.

1195.  
*Miecslaus*  
takes up  
Arms. The  
Battle of  
*Mozgawa*,  
fatal to the  
two Parties.

*Miecslaus the Old*, was so offended at this Preference, that he immediately armed and march'd against *Cracow*. Besides the Troops he had levied in his own Dominions; and whose Number was considerable he was likewise accompany'd by *Miecslaus* Duke of *Oppelen*, *Jaroslav* Duke of *Breslau*, and the Duke of *Pomerania*, who came to his Assistance at the Head of their bravest Troops. The Tutors of the young Monarch were Masters of almost equal Forces to oppose him; all the Youth of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, and of the Duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia* assembled to aid their Prince; and Part of *Russia* had taken Arms in his Favour. This War, tho' of a short Duration, was very bloody on both Sides, and so great a Slaughter was made in the Battle that was fought on the Banks of *Mozgawa*, that both Parties were involv'd in the destructive Effects. *Boleslaus* was slain in the confused Havock, and his Father *Miecslaus the Old* would likewise have been killed, if he had not discovered himself to a Soldier who was on the Point of stabbing him, and he was even compell'd to save himself by a shameful

shameful Flight. On the other Side, the Palatine of *Sandomir* was taken Prisoner; *Romain Mseistawic* Duke of *Vladimirow*, seeing the *Russian* Troops defeated, had Recourse to an ignominious Retreat, and both the Armies retir'd in a mutual Panic, to alarm their Country with the Terrors that attend a compleat Overthrow.

These Troubles were no Obstacle to the Reformation of the Clergy. *Peter*, Cardinal Dean of *St. Mary in via lata*, usually styl'd the Cardinal of *Capua*, came to *Poland* in the Quality of Legate à latere from Pope *Celestine III.* and was received by the Bishops and Nobility, with all the Respect that was due to his Merit and Dignity. The Priests had their Concubines at that Time; whose Children succeeded their Fathers, as if they had been legitimate, and this scandalous Proceeding became general in all the Churches. The Marriages of the Laity were attended with Licentiousness, and the Presence of a Priest was thought superfluous at that Sacrament. *Peter* reform'd these Abuses, re-establish'd Discipline in a State of new Vigour, obliged the Priests to return to their Duty, by inflicting Penalties on those who married; he likewise deprived them of their Concubines, and regulated the Forms of Marriage among the Laity. These Reforms were accomplish'd in *Poland*; but the Priests proceeded even to Sedition in *Bohemia*; the Cardinal Legate narrowly escaped being torn in Pieces by these furious Ecclesiastics; and *Henry* Bishop of *Prague*, and Duke of *Bohemia*, was obliged to employ Force and Violence to bring them into Subjection.

*Miecslaus the Old* had been compell'd to continue quiet ever since the Battle of *Mozgawa*; but having, at last, found Means to raise a Body of  
new

new Troops, his Ambition was soon re-kindled, and he prepared anew for War. The Province of *Cujavia*, which border'd on his Dominions, seem'd to him a very commodious Tract of Territories, and that alone was a sufficient Inducement to him to enter it with an Army. Every Place where he came submitted to him; and the Disagreements, which had arisen between the Palatinates of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*, proved favourable to his Usurpation.

He was so far from being satisfy'd with this first Advantage, that he immediately form'd a Design to make himself Master of *Cracow*, and the Throne itself, and as he had never succeeded by open Force, he turned his Thoughts to Artifice: In Consequence of which, his first Endeavour was to corrupt the Fidelity of the Tutors of the Duke of *Poland*; but when he found them inflexible, and utterly averse to the least Appearance of Disloyalty, he address'd himself even to the Mother of the young Prince.

He promised her to adopt *Lech* and *Conrade*; to surrender *Cujavia* to them, and to declare them Heirs to his Dominions, if she would permit him to resume the Crown, which belonged to him, and which his Age would render him incapable of wearing for any Length of Time. The Duchess accepted of his Conditions, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the principal Nobility, and *Miecslaus* obtain'd Possession of the City of *Cracow*, after he had taken a solemn Oath for the Execution of his Promises.

No Confidence ought to be placed in the Words of a Prince who had receded from them so often, and who was influenced by no other Law, than his Interest and Ambition. When he had once obtained what he demanded, he no longer

longer thought of the Engagements he had contracted, and his only View was to secure himself on a Throne which he intended should be inherited by his Children, in Prejudice to his Nephews; but all his Artifice was ineffectual, and Means were found to punish his Perfidy, and prevent the Accomplishment of his pernicious Designs.

The Duchess growing sensible she had been deceived, employ'd all her Efforts to retrieve the Misconduct into which she had been betray'd, by too much Credulity. *Miecslaus* had render'd himself perfectly odious; but the Children of *Casimir* were beloved by the People, and a few Measures taken in their Favour were sufficient to excite a general Insurrection. The Usurper was driven out in a shameful Manner, and compelled to abandon *Cracow*; but he enter'd it again in a short Time, and this artful and intriguing Prince had Recourse to another Stratagem which proved successful. He found Means to blacken the Palatine of *Cracow* with the Calumnies he published against him, and the Duchess suffering herself to be prejudiced against that Nobleman, was deaf to all that could be alledg'd in his Justification. This Conduct obliged him to throw himself into the Arms of *Miecslaus*, who receiv'd him in the most favourable Manner; in Consequence of which, the Palatine soon employed all his Friends to promote the Interest of his new Master, and he introduced *Miecslaus* into *Cracow*, by Means of the Intelligence he maintained there.

This Prince did not long enjoy the Advantages of his Conquest, for he died soon after, and his Son *Uladislaus* was elected by the Credit of the same Palatine.



1306.  
The Irrup-  
tion of the  
Tartars.

After their Death, *Poland* unanimously acknowledged *Leck the White* for their Prince; in whose Reign, the *Tartars*, who 'till then were a Nation little known in *Poland*, and whose Cruelty and Inroads diffused Terror through the most potent Kingdoms in the North; we say the *Tartars* invaded *Poland*, and obtain'd a great Victory, tho' the *Poles* were assisted by the *Russians*. Some Years after this Defeat, *Poland* was delug'd by immoderate Rains; The Corn, and all other Species of Grain, together with the Forage and Fruits were laid under Water. A Famine soon follow'd, and the Calamities of that Country were completed by a dreadful Winter. The Fertility of the Soil was exhausted, and a universal Sterility prevail'd for Three successive Years, which reduced that once populous Country to a dismal Solitude.

If the Reign of *Leck* was unfortunate, the Manner of his Death was altogether as deplorable. *Suantopelk* Palatine of *Pomerania*, a Man of a perfidious Disposition, and render'd arrogant by his Riches; so that he was capable of forming any Attempt; to raise himself to a more exalted Degree of Power, concerted a horrid Design to sacrifice his Master to his own Ambition and Fortune. He at first demanded the Title of Duke of *Pomerania*, and to hold that Province by Fealty and Homage; but upon the Refusal of *Leck*, he himself assumed that Quality, and discontinued the Tribute, which was usually paid to the Prince of *Poland*, by the *Pomeranians*.

Upon the first Intelligence of this Revolt, *Henry the Bearded*, Duke of *Silesia*, and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia* hasten'd to the Assistance of *Leck*, who had already raised a Body of Troops; but

but those Princes did not think it expedient to come immediately to an open War: They employed therefore the same Stratagems against the Traitor, as he had practised himself, and endeavoured to draw him to a Conference, at which they intended to seize him.

*Suantopelk* had too much to fear, and was likewise too prudent to be misled by this false Glimmer of an Accommodation: He therefore prevented the Danger, and had the Dexterity to allure the *Polish* Princes into the Snare they had prepared for him. *Uladislaus*, Duke of Great Poland, became a secret Confederate with *Suantopelk*, and having also flatter'd himself with the Hopes of a Crown, which he saw was on the Point of being wrested from *Leck*, he facilitated the Rebel's Acquisition of all the Places that were adjacent to that where the Conference was to be held, and he there concealed a great Body of resolute Troops.

*Leck*, *Henry the Bearded*, and *Uladislaus* himself, came thither with an Intention to seize *Suantopelk*, but as he had been informed of all their Proceedings, he made his Appearance at the Head of a Body of good Troops. He found the *Polish* Forces in Disorder, upon which he made a great Slaughter among them, and penetrated to the Quarter of the Princes, who were then bathing themselves. *Leck*, being disarmed, and almost naked; immediately betook himself to Flight, with a small Party of faithful Soldiers; but he was overtaken by *Suantopelk*, who caused him to be massacred upon the Spot. *Henry* was not so unfortunate, but being surprised in the Bath, without any Guards to defend him, and being in no Condition to attempt the Defensive, he had already received several Wounds, when a Soldier,

touch'd with Compassion, at the Sight of his expiring Prince, employ'd some Efforts in his Defence; drove away the Assassins, and covered *Henry*, with his own Body; but he soon sunk down himself, entirely destitute of Strength, and after he had lost all his Blood. They were both thought to be dead, and owed their Lives to nothing but the false Report of their having lost them.

This first Calamity was followed by Troubles that were still more fatal. *Conrade*, the Brother of the late Duke, and *Henry* of *Silesia*, formed Pretensions to the Throne, and demanded the Tutelage of *Leck*. *Conrade* being weaken'd by the Loss of two Battles, was obliged to retire into his own Dominions. *Henry* having made himself Master of *Cracow*, had no Apprehensions of any Expulsion from thence, and he was induced, by the imprudent Confidence he reposed in the Inhabitants, to disband his own Troops, and to send the *Silesians* into their own Country. *Conrade* advanced, by secret Marches, to *Cracow*, with a Detachment of his best Troops; enter'd the Place, and caused his Competitor to be seized.

The Son of *Henry* soon appeared at the Head of a numerous Army, to revenge the Treatment his Father had received, and he threatend to ravage *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, unless that Prince were restored to his Liberty. The Animosities of the two Parties created Apprehensions of a long and cruel War, and the *Poles* were preparing for their mutual Destruction, when a Princess, whose Memory has been consecrated by the Church, had the Prudence to extinguish a Flame, that would otherwise have consumed the whole Kingdom. *Hedwig*, the Consort of *Henry* of *Silesia*,

*lesia*, was the happy Mediatrix, who brought these dangerous Divisions to a Period, and gave Peace to *Poland*. *Henry* desisted from his Pretensions to the Crown, and *Conrade* was universally acknowledged.

*Henry* however, within the Space of a few Years, either in Consequence of *Conrade's* Weakness, or a voluntary Abdication, assumed the Title of Prince of *Poland*, and retained it to his Death, since *Conrade* was in no Condition to contest that Quality with him.

*Poland* was then divided into different Principalities, that were almost independent of each other. The Person who was Master of *Cracow*, had indeed been considered as Monarch, and had the Title of Sovereign; but the other Dukes, who were his Inferiors in Dignity, frequently contemned the Orders of a Prince, less potent than themselves, and maintained a War in those Dominions, that was almost perpetual. The several Parts therefore of the State, being disconcerted and separated from each other, were able to concur but weakly for the common Welfare of the Republick, and while this fatal Division subsisted, the Forces and Splendor of a Monarchy that was once so potent, were continually diminished.

The *Tartars*, who are a Nation equally fierce and warlike, improved this Weakness to their own Advantage, and after they had past the *Tanais*, the *Volga*, and the *Boristhenes*, and ravaged all *Russia*; *Bath*, their Cham, enter'd *Poland*, and sacked, in the first Expedition, the Cities of *Lublin*, and *Zawichost*, with their Territories. He returned in the Winter Season of the same Year, and marched over the Ice of the *Boristhenes*. *Sandomir*, a rich City, became a Prey to the *Tartars*, and was carried by Assault, after it had sustain'd



a Siege to no Effect. After which the *Barbarians* render'd it a Scene of Cruelty and Debaucheries. *Vislicza*, and some other Cities, were sacked with the same Fury.

They then advanced towards *Cracow*, and were already encamped at *Polaniez*, when *Uladomir*, the Palatine of that Province attacked them contrary to their Expectations. This brave Man had but a few Troops, but his Courage and Experience proved as important to him as a great Body of Forces. Amidst the first Surprise of his Attack, he made a great Slaughter of the *Tartars*, and the Country they came to ravage, would have proved their Grave, if the *Polish* Soldiers had been less desirous of Booty : but they were too precipitated in their Invasion of the Baggage, and that short Relaxation from the Assault discover'd their inconsiderable Numbers.

When *Bath* had made that Observation, he rallied some of the shatter'd Remains of his dispersed Troops, and after he had formed them into a Squadron, he immediately fell upon the *Poles*, who were obliged, in their Turn, to have Recourse to Flight.

The *Barbarians*, had, however, received so considerable a Check, and their wounded Men were so numerous, that their Apprehensions of a second Attack obliged them to retire. They arrived, by long Marches, at the Forest of *Stremeck*, where they halted for some Time, to refresh themselves, after the Fatigues they had sustain'd, and with a Persuasion that they should be pursued.

They returned, soon after, with a new Army; and *Kaidan*, one of their Chiefs, advanced into the Palatinate of *Lencici*, and likewise into *Cusjavia*, which he ravaged. *Bath* continued his Progress into the Palatinate of *Cracow*, and massacred

cred the Inhabitants with the utmost Barbarity. The most tender Infancy, and the weakest old Age, were Victims to the *Tartarian* Rage, and neither Sex, nor Quality, nor any other Circumstance could soften the Hearts of those *Barbarians* with the least Impressions of Pity. They had loaded themselves with Spoils, and were retiring into *Russia*, when the same *Uladimir*, whom we lately mention'd, attended by *Clement*, Castellan of *Cracow*, the Palatine *Pacoslaus*, and *James Racziborowicz*, Castellan of *Sandomir*, had Resolution enough to attack them with an inequality of Troops. Victory declared, at first, in Favour of the Christian Army, and Part of the *Tartars* were put to Flight; but their Body of Reserve renewed the Battle, to their Advantage, and made such a vigorous Attack on the *Poles* who were then fatigued, that they were entirely defeated.

This fatal Battle weaken'd and intimidated the *Poles*: their Princes retired into *Hungary*: the People and the Peasants sought for an Asylum in Places that were impenetrable, and amidst the Solitude of Forrests and Mountains. *Cracow*, being open on every Quarter, and entirely defenceless, was plunder'd and burnt; and *Breslau* soon after sustain'd the same Calamity.

*Moravia* and *Hungary* became the next bloody Theatre of the *Tartarian* Fury. Their Arms were irresistible; King *Bela* was defeated, and obliged to retire into *Austria*, with his Nephew *Carloman*: The City of *Pesth* was carried by Assault, and above 100000 Persons were slaughter'd in that Place.

The *Tartars* having made themselves Masters of all the Country, fixed their Camp between *Gran*, and *Javarin*, in *Hungary*, from whence they frequently detached considerable Parties,

who extended themselves on all Sides, One of these Detachments surprized *Cracow* a second Time, and made a greater Slaughter than before.

During the Course of these Devastations, *Boleslaus*, turnamed the *Chaste*, the Son of Duke *Henry*, had been elected Prince of *Poland*. *Conrade* his Uncle was exasperated at that Preference, and endeavoured to avenge himself. He was aided by *Suantopelk* Duke of *Pomerania*, and took the Field, at a Time when the Flames that the *Tartars* had kindled, were not extinguished. The Ruins of *Cracow* were still smoaking; *Boleslaus* was in *Hungary*, and that unfortunate City had neither Inhabitants nor any Chief.

Amidst these Conjunctions, *Conrade* caused himself to be acknowledged, and easily made himself Master of the Duchies of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, but did not enjoy them for any Length of Time. He abused his Authority, and harrassed his Subjects with immoderate Imposts. He was induced, by an unjust Caprice, to confer the Offices of the State, without any Regard either to Merit, or Birth; by which Means he equally irritated the Nobility, and the Peasants. Deputies were privately dispatched to *Boleslaus*, to represent to him the Complaints of the *Poles*, and to engage his Assistance. He at last appeared, after some Delays, and the Gates of *Cracow* were immediately open'd to him.

*Conrade*, who was then in *Mazovia*, hasten'd to oppose the Progress of his Enemy, but was incapable of regaining *Cracow*. He therefore retired, with an Intention to return with a more numerous Army; and he accordingly appeared the ensuing Year, accompanied with a great Body of *Lithuanians*, and other Foreigners: but all his Efforts were ineffectual, for he was defeated near

*Sochodol*,

*Sochodol*, and was compelled to have Recourse to an ignominious Flight. This Loss, however, did not entirely deject him, and during the Remainder of his Life, he continually harrassed *Boleslaus*, who supported himself on the Throne, notwithstanding some unfavourable Turns of Fortune.

He reigned thirty seven Years. The perpetual Continency he observed, tho' he was married; his Liberality to the Priests and Monks; the Privileges he granted them, and the Number of Monasteries that were founded by him, have procured him the Praises of the ecclesiastic Historians. But he was better form'd for a Cloister than a Throne. He frequently abandoned his People, and fled at the first Approach of the *Tartars*, without daring to attack them. His Genius was too contracted and weak, to enable him to govern by himself, and he resigned himself to unworthy Ministers, who abused his easy Disposition, and made his Name subservient to their unjust Measures, whilst the Hatred they created was perpetually levelled at the Prince. While the Clergy, who were opulent and undisturbed in their Possessions, derived Advantages from the Weakness of *Boleslaus*, and whilst *Rome*, who enriched herself, by the exorbitant Tents she exacted, made a pompous Elogium on the pious Prodigality of this Prince; the *Poles*, who were crushed under a Weight of Imposts, openly accused him of Avarice, and his Dissipation of the public Wealth.

As he had no Children, and had voluntarily renounced the Name of a Father, he adopted *Lefzko*, or *Leck*, surnamed *the Black*, Duke of *Cujavia*. When *Boleslaus* was dead, the Palatines of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, acknowledged *Leck*,  
as

1279.  
The Death  
of *Boleslaus*.  
His Character.



as well on Account of his Adoption, as because he was nearly related to the late Duke.

1280,  
1281.

The Reign of this Prince was one continued Scene of War. He had scarce ascended the Throne, before he was attacked by a Confederate Army of *Russians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians*, whom he defeated; but while he was engaged in this Expedition, *Sandomir* revolted, and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia*, made himself Master of all the Places in that Palatinate.

The Revolt became general in the Space of a few Years; and the Bishop, the Starost, and the Palatine of *Sandomir*, in Conjunction with all the principal Nobility, invited the Duke of *Mazovia*, a second Time, into their Country. He accordingly made an expeditious March thither, at the Head of a great Army, and received Oaths of Allegiance from the Disaffected. Every Place submitted to him, except the City of *Cracow*, which continued faithful to its Prince, who, amidst his Apprehensions of a Siege and his Inability to sustain it, retired into *Hungary*, to apply for Succours from King *Uladislaus*.

The Fortitude and Loyalty of the Inhabitants of *Cracow*, were not to be shaken. They, at first, abandoned the City to the Enemy, because they were in no Condition to defend it, but they continued invincible in their Citadel. But while the Siege was drawn out into a Length of Time, the *Hungarians* advanced to relieve the Place; *Conrade* was defeated, the second of *August*, and afterwards fled into *Mazovia*, where he ended his Days.

*Leck* was succeeded by *Henry* Duke of *Breslau*, furnamed *The Good*, the Nobility of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, had, at first,

first, elected *Boleslaus* Duke of *Mazovia*, but *Henry* having been invited by the Citizens of *Cracow*, advanced thither, with an Army, and made himself Master of it; after which Success, his Competitor no longer presumed to oppose him, but immediately retired.

Some Time after these Transactions, *Henry* was opposed by another Adversary, more potent than the former. *Ladislaus Loklek*, Duke of *Cujavia*, and *Siradia*, gain'd all the Nobility of Great *Poland* and *Pomerania*, over to his Interest, and then caused himself to be elected. His Right was founded on his Birth, and if the Succession to the *Polish* Throne had been fixed by Degrees of Parentage, he would have been the undoubted Heir of the late Duke. Fortune seem'd, at first, to favour his Arms; he obtain'd a Victory in *Silesia*; made himself Master of the City and Citadel of *Cracow*; but the Sequel of the War did not correspond with the first Success. *Henry* assembled new Troops, advanced, by private Marches, to *Cracow*, and enter'd it, in Consequence of the Intelligence he had maintained in that Place: His Competitor being surprized in this Manner, and in no Condition to defend himself, betook himself to Flight, and abandoned the Towns to *Henry*.

*Henry*, however, did not long enjoy that Acquisition; for he died at *Breslau*, and was thought to have been poisoned by some *Silesian* Lords. As he had not any Children, he bequeathed his Duchies of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, to *Premislaus*, Duke of Great *Poland*; but *Ladislaus Loklek*, who had already disputed the Crown with the late Duke, made himself Master of *Sandomir*, and extended his Views to *Cracow*.

On

On the other Hand, *Griphina*, the Widow of *Leck* the Black, being exasperated to behold herself divested of the Territories that had been consigned to her for her Dowry, entered into a Treaty with *Wenceslaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and resigned to him all her Rights. This Prince marched into *Poland*, seized *Cracow*, and expelled *Premislaus*, who wanted Courage to attack him.

*Wenceslaus*, was elated at this Success, and advanced against *Ladislaus Loklek*, who defeated him, and recovered all the Places that had been conquered by the *Bohemians*, except *Cracow*. *Wenceslaus*, notwithstanding this Overthrow, always retain'd the Title of Duke of *Sandomir* and *Cracow*. Some Authors have ranked him among the Dukes of *Poland*, and pretend that he caused *Premislaus* to be assassinated, before he divested him of his Principality.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
*POLAND.*

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BOOK III.

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**T**HE Republick of *Poland*, which was once in such a flourishing State, lost all its Splendour, ever since the Court of *Rome* had divested it of the Title of a Kingdom. *Prussia*, *Silesia*, *Pomerania*, *Saxony* and *Russia*, which were the Conquests of the first Monarchs of *Poland*, had shaken off the Yoke, and secured their Independency, by long Possession. The Body it self of this ancient Kingdom, was reduced to a melancholy Situation, and supported it self with great Difficulty: For as  
it



it was divided into several Principalities, whose Dukes had different Interests to pursue, it was exhausted of its Force, and always a Prey either to a domestic, or a foreign Foe.

After a Series of Wars, and other Calamities had raged for the Space of Two Centuries, the *Poles* began to be, at last, sensible of their just Prerogatives, and formed a Resolution to elect a King, who should be in a Condition to re-unite the divided Members of the State, and to re-animate that ancient Body, which was once so formidable. *Premislaus* Duke of *Posnania*, the Son of that other *Premislaus*, who had been driven out of *Poland* by *Wenceslaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, formed and conducted this great Project. He was advanced to Years of Maturity, and his Prudence was equal to his Valour. His *Pomeranian* Dominions furnished him with Troops, and he was likewise supported by his Uncle the Duke of *Calisz*. The Palatinates of *Cracovia* and *Sandomir* groan'd under the Weight of the *Bohemian* Yoke, and were easily prevailed upon to declare in Favour of a Prince of their own Nation, and a Son of their ancient Duke.

1195.

*Premislaus*, the third of that Name, was accordingly elected King of *Poland*, and the Solemnity of his Coronation was performed at *Gnesna*, the Twenty Sixth of June, by *James Swinka* Archbishop of that City, in the Presence of the Bishops of *Posnania*, *Breslau*, *Plosko* and *Lublin*, and of a great Number of Gentlemen. The Bishops of *Cracow*, and *Breslau*, together with the Nobility of those Palatinates sent Deputies to assist at that Ceremonial.

*Poland* had conceived the greatest Hopes of this Prince, and he already began to devote his  
Atten-

Attention to the Welfare of his People, when they were deprived of him by a violent Death. *Otho the Tall*, together with another *Otho*, and *John Marquis of Brandenburg*, who were apprehensive that *Premislaus* would compel them to a Restitution of the Territories they had usurped from *Poland*, assassinated *Premislaus* at *Rogozno*, after he had reigned Six Months and Eleven Days. The Conduct he pursued in so short a Reign, was a sufficient Indication of his extraordinary Courage, and likewise of the happy Measures he would have concerted for the Welfare of *Poland*, had he enjoyed a longer Life.

The Poles substituted in his Room, *Ladislaus Loklek*, Duke of *Cujavia*, who had already made so many unsuccessful Efforts to ascend the Throne: but as *Wenceslaus* of *Bohemia*, possessed the Palatinates of *Sandomir*, and *Sirad*, he deferred his Coronation, and only assumed the Title of Duke, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Poland*, but he did not long continue in the peaceable Possession of his Dignity. 1296.

Before the Commencement of his Reign, he seemed to merit a Throne, but he no sooner obtained it, than his Indolence and Debaucheries render'd him unworthy to enjoy it. The Nobility assembled at *Posnania*, in order to depose a Prince whose Conduct was prejudicial to the State, and to elect a worthier Person. The National Choice was determined, by political Motives, in Favour of *Wenceslaus* of *Bohemia*, who possessed the Duchies of *Cracovia* and *Sandomir*, by Vertue of the Resignation of those Territories to him by *Griffina*, the Widow of Duke *Leck*.

The

The Deputies of the Diet presented him, at *Prague*, with the Decretal for his Election, and intimated to him, that it would be his Interest to espouse *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of the late King *Premislaus*, in order to obtain the Affection of the *Poles*.

Upon his Arrival in *Poland*, he was crown'd at *Gnesna*, with the usual Ceremonies, and some Time after he espoused the Princess Royal. His Competitor was unable to oppose him; *Ladislaus* was driven out of *Poland*, and even divested of his patrimonial Dominions.

The unfortunate *Ladislaus* retired, at first, into *Hungary*, and being still apprehensive of falling into the Hands of his Enemy, he went to seek an Asylum at *Rome*. But Fortune at last ceased to persecute him, after the Death of *Wenceslaus*: he then returned into *Poland*, drove out the *Bohemians*, and reascended the Throne: And tho' the greatest Part of the Nobility had taken the Oath of Allegiance to him, yet the Palatinates of *Poznania*, and *Calisz*, elected *Henry* Duke of *Glogaw*, who assumed the Quality of Heir to the Kingdom, and kept in Subjection to him, during his Life, that Part of *Poland* which had acknowledged him for its Sovereign.

1320.

*Ladislaus* was not crowned, nor did he assume the Title of King, till a considerable Time after his Election. This Ceremonial was performed at *Cracow*, which has ever since been the Place where the Coronation of the Kings has been solemnized, notwithstanding the Protests made by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, against that Proceeding.

This Prince was always at War with the Knights of the Teutonic Order, on the Account of *Pomerania*,

*merania*, which they had conquered. This Order was instituted amidst the tumultuous Expeditions of the Christian Princes, for the Conquest of the holy Land. A Set of German Pilgrims were the Founders of it, and they made it one of their first Duties, to relieve the Poor and the Sick. *Baldwin*, King of *Jerusalem*, perceiving the advantageous Effects of this Institution, erected an Hospital in the City of *Acra*, and consigned the Regulation of it to the Fraternity of the Teutonic Order; whose Institution was soon after approv'd by *Clement III.* They were distinguished by a black Cross on a white Scapulary, and were ordered to be conformable to the Discipline of St. *Augustin.*

The Original of the Teutonic Orders

The disinterested Zeal and Regularity of this new Order, procured them the Veneration of the People, and the Protection of Kings; but their Opulence and Prerogatives soon clouded the original Vertues, which had shone in the Infancy of this Order. The Teutonic Knights having been driven out of the holy Land, the Emperor *Frederick II.* and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia* made them a Donation of *Prussia*, and the Territory of *Culm*, of which they took Possession, and chased away the Idolaters, by the Aid of the *Poles.*

As soon as they became Sovereigns, they were only solicitous to extend the Limits of their Principality. *Pomerania* had been the Object of the Ambition of their Grand Masters; who at last possessed themselves of it, and in order to secure their Usurpation, they engaged in a long and bloody War against their ancient Friends the *Poles*, to whom they owed their first Establishment in *Prussia.*

In the Year 1310, the Grand Master besieged *Dantzic*; and enter'd it, in Consequence of the

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Correspondence he had maintain'd in the Place. His Troops made a dreadful Massacre, in which the principal Nobility of *Pomerania* were destroyed. The other Cities were struck with such a Consternation at the Fate of their Capital, that they made no Resistance, but open'd their Gates to the Conquerors, who had render'd themselves so formidable.

Conferences were held, the following Year, in order to a Pacification, but they all proved ineffectual, and the Knights devoted their whole Endeavours to secure themselves in their Usurpations.

In order to colour their Proceedings with some plausible Appearance, they purchased the Rights of *Waldemar*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who resigned to them all his Pretensions, whether well or ill founded. The Knights, having obtained this apparent Title, despised the Thunders of the Court of *Rome*, which launched out vain Anathemas, in order to compel them to a Restitution of *Pomerania*, and they supported themselves in the Possession of that Province, to the Year 1466.

*Ladislaus*, before he had Recourse to Arms, to dispossess these Usurpers, addressed himself to the Sovereign Pontiff, who was the superior of the Order. *Clement V.* was then at *Avignon*, and he granted the *Poles* a favourable Brief, and appointed Commissaries to take an Account of the Barbarities and Invasions of the Teutonic Knights.

The Execution of this Brief having been neglected, *John XXII.* who succeeded *Clement*, directed a second to the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, the Bishop of *Posnania*, and the Abbot of *Mogilno*, authorizing them to proceed against the Grand Master, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order,  
and

and to compel them, by ecclesiastic Censures, in Conjunction with the secular Arm, to a Restitution of *Pomerania*, if it could be proved that they had illegally possessed themselves of that Province.

The Commissaries of the holy See proceeded to the Execution of this Brief, and pronounced a definitive Sentence against the Knights, notwithstanding their Appeal to the Court of *Rome*. The Order having refused to acquiesce with this Sentence, the Commissaries launched out an Interdict against all those Places where the Grand Master and the Commanders resided, and they were even pulclicly excommunicated, in all the Provinces of *Poland*.

Some Years after this Proceeding, *Ladislaus* had recourse to Thunders that were more effectual. He marched into *Brandenburg*, and ravaged the Territories of the Marquiss *Waldemar*, who had resigned *Pomerania* to the Knights: He likewise destroyed the Territories of *Culm* with Fire and Sword; and the Duke of *Mazovia* having join'd himself to the Knights, in order to oppose him in his Retreat, *Ladislaus* obtain'd a compleat Victory over them.

1326.

1328.

A second Expedition proved still more fatal to the Teutonic Order. *Ladislaus*, whose Troops were augmented by the *Hungarians*, and *Lithuanians*, who came to his Assistance, enter'd *Prussia*, dispersed the Enemies Forces, and penetrated, with Impunity, through all the Country. He then ought to have improved the Weakness into which the Knights were sunk, and to have reduced them to the last Extremities: instead of which, he suffer'd himself to be prevailed upon by their feigned Submissions, and accepted

the Mediation of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, on the Article of *Pomerania*: In Consequence of which, the Knights, when the Danger was once over, entirely disregarded the Execution of their Promises.

Their Perfidy, however, did not remain unpunished. *Ladislaus* defeated them, soon after, and cover'd the Field of Battle with 4000 Knights, and 40000 of their Soldiers.

This Victory presented him with a second Opportunity of entirely exterminating these ambitious Knights from *Prussia*, but the King, upon their Offers to restore all the Places they had seized, was so tractable as to grant them a Truce, during the Continuance of which, they were so far from thinking of the Restitution they had promised, that they employed their whole Endeavours, to repair their Losses, and prosecute the War.

1333.

*Ladislaus*, after the Glory he had acquired by these Exploits, died at *Cracow* the second of *March*. As he pretended to be the Heir of *Leck* the Black, he contested the Crown with *Henry* the Good, and with *Premislaus* II. During the Reign of the famous *Premislaus* III. he always retain'd the Duchy of *Cujavia*, and some other considerable Principalities, and after the Death of that Prince he was advanced by the unanimous Suffrages of the Nation, to the Throne which he seem'd to merit, but of which his Conduct soon caused him to be deprived. He was, accordingly deposed, and *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, whom the *Poles* had opposed against him, reduced him to the most calamitous Extremities. He became a Wanderer and a Vagabond for some Time, but his Misfortunes were advantageous to him, and he

he derived Instructions from his Adversity. When he reascended the Throne, from whence the *Bohemians* had chased him, he maintain'd himself in that Dignity, by the Vertues he had acquired in the Course of his Misfortunes. He supported the Rights of his Kingdom, and obtained great Victories: In a Word, he would have been a compleat General had he known how to improve the Advantages of his Conquests, as effectually as he was capable of obtaining them.

A few Moments before his Death, he sent for the principal Nobility, and the great Officers of the Crown, into his Apartment, and recommended to them his Son *Casimir*. After which he address'd his Discourse to the young Prince, and order'd him to employ his utmost Efforts to drive the Usurpers out of *Pomerania*, and laid his Injunctions on him, not to consent to any Accommodation with them, till they had restored that Province to *Poland*.

*Casimir* neglected to observe his Father's Directions in this last Particular, and he was hardly elected, before he made a Truce with the Teutonic Order, and left the Affairs in Difference between them to the Decision of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bobemia*, who held their Conferences of Mediation at *Vischegrad* in *Hungary*, where they likewise published their Decision. *Pomerania* was adjudged to the Teutonic Order, provided they would restore the Territory of *Culn*, and some other Dominions.

Tho' this Decision was injurious to the Rights of the Kingdom, yet *Casimir* thought fit to acquiesce with it, and undertook to procure a Ratification of it by the *Polish* Nation; who, instead of complying with his Proposal, unanimously declared against it, in a Diet which the King caus-



ed to be convoked on that Occasion. They even deputed the Bishop of *Cracow* to bear to the Pope, the Complaints of the Nation against the Teutonic Order, and he took his Measures so effectually with *Benedict XII.* who then resided at *Avignon*, that the Sovereign Pontiff appointed Two Commissaries, who came into *Poland*, and condemned the Knights to a Restitution of the Territories claimed by the *Poles*: but all these Proceedings were ineffectual, and religious Warriors are to be attacked with Arms more formidable than the Anathemas of *Rome*.

The Conduct of *Casimir* in this Affair, is in some Measure capable of being vindicated by the Motives which induced him to proceed in that Manner. The Knights, besides the Forces of their own Dominions, were supported by the King of *Bohemia* their Ally, and likewise by the *Germans*. They were in Possession of *Pomerania*, *Cujavia*, and the Territory of *Culm*; but they offer'd to restore *Cujavia*, and *Culm*. In this Situation of Affairs, and in order to avoid a destructive War, which *Ladislaus*, tho' frequently victorious, was never able to bring to a happy Period, may it not be said, that *Casimir* acted with Prudence in consenting to a Treaty, which restored him Two Provinces, without making it necessary for him to shed the Blood of his Subjects?

A Description  
of Black  
*Russia*. The  
Conquest of  
that Pro-  
vince.

But the most prevailing Motive to his Accommodation with the Teutonic Order, was his Project for the Conquest of *Russia*. *Boleslaus Chabri* had formerly carried his Arms into that Country; and *Boleslaus*, surnamed the Intrepid, had made himself Master of *Kiovia*, and the strongest Places in that Province, but it afterwards shook off the Yoke, and its Princes had long been independent. *Black Russia* is divided into the Three Palatinates  
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of *Leopold*, *Chelm*, and *Belez*. The City of *Leopold* is now the Capital and Metropolitan of this Country; it is likewise fortified with two Castles, one of which is within the Walls, and the other is seated on a neighbouring Mountain. The *Russia* which belongs to the Czar of *Muscovy*, is called *White Russia*, to distinguish it from that which at present constitutes Part of the Kingdom of *Poland*.

*Casimir*, had an Intention to conquer this Province, and he seem'd to have a favourable Opportunity of entering upon that Expedition. Duke *Boleslaus*, the Son of *Trojdena*, Duke of *Mazovia*, having resolved to compel his Subjects to quit the Schism of the *Greeks*, became a Victim to his Zeal, and his Attachment to the Church of *Rome*. The principal Lords, to whom an Alteration in the Rites of their Religion became insupportable, formed a Conspiracy against their Prince, but not daring to declare themselves in an open Manner, they had Recourse to secret Expedients, and took off *Boleslaus* by Poison.

When *Casimir* received Intelligence of the Death of this Prince, he placed himself at the Head of a flying Camp, and invested the City of *Leopold*, contrary to the Expectation of the Inhabitants. A general Confusion was created by this Proceeding; the Place was unfurnished with Provisions and Ammunition, and was almost destitute of Defenders. The few *Russians* who were there, sustained a Siege, but as they were incapable of a long Resistance, and were promised to be indulged with an entire Liberty of Conscience, they opened their Gates to the *Polish* Army, and took Oaths of Allegiance to *Casimir*.

The King then marched against *Wlodimirov*, which he likewise took, and conquer'd all *Volbinia* which lies adjacent to it.

He afterwards returned to *Poland*, in order to raise new Recruits, and to deposite, in some secure Place, the Treasures of the Dukes of *Russia*, which he had found at *Leopold*; a few Months after which he advanced a second Time into *Russia*, to compleat the Conquest of that Country. The Cities of *Przemysl*, *Halicz*, *Anoc*, *Lubacrow*, and several other Places submitted to the Force of his Arms, and the whole Province was subdued in a single Campaign.

1347.  
*Casimir gives*  
*Laws to Po-*  
*land.*

*Casimir*, after these Conquests, being dreaded and respected by his Neighbours, employed all his Endeavours to gain the Affection of his People, and to make them taste the Fruits of a happy Peace. The *Poles*, as yet, had not any Body of Laws, and all Causes were decided, according to the Fancy of ignorant or corrupt Judges; or if there were any particular Forms in the Administration of Justice, they were extremely ridiculous, and discover'd a Tincture of the gross and barbarous Manners of that Age. The most usual Regulation that was observed in the Decision of Differences between particular Persons, consisted in writing down the Form of an Oath on Paper, which was afterwards read to one or the other of the Parties, and if the Persons to whom that Oath was administred, did not pronounce it with the utmost Exactness; if he either hesitated, or changed any single Expression, his Cause was lost, and his Adversary gain'd his Point, tho' his Acquisition was very inconsiderable. The Innocent, as well as the Guilty, were sentenced to pay large Fines to the Judges, the Starosts, the Palatines, the

the Dukes, and the King; for all Causes were usually brought before each of these Tribunals.

*Casimir* reformed these Abuses, and compiled a Code, which was approved by a general Diet held at *Cracow*, and all the Nation submitted to the Laws it contained.

He likewise founded a University at *Cracow*; erected *Leopold* into an Archbishoprick; built several strong Places, and inclosed the Principal Cities in the Kingdom with Walls.

Such were the Fruits of that Tranquillity, which *Poland* enjoyed under the Administration of *Casimir* the Great. He loved his People, and was equally beloved by them. He acted with Impartiality even to a scrupulous Degree; he was a religious Observer of Justice, and gave shining Examples of the respectful Submission that was due to the Laws. The Peasants, who were greatly oppressed with the Exactions of an intractable Nobility, experienced the Effects of his Goodness; and as he was persuaded, that it was the Duty of a King, to render equal Justice to all his Subjects, without any Distinction of Religion or Country, he granted the *Jews* such Privileges as deliver'd them from the unjust Oppressions under which they groaned.

The Monuments which he left in *Poland* transmitted the Memory of this great Prince to a late Posterity. He enlarged *Cracow* by the Addition of a new City, which he distinguished by the Name of *Casimir*. The Number of Churches, Fortresses and Palaces, that were erected by him, is almost incredible, and the generality of the Cities in *Poland* owed to him, either their Foundation, or their Embellishments.

If he abandoned *Pomerania*, his sole Intention was to recover *Cujavia*, and some other of his patri-



patrimonial Territories from the Knights of the Teutonic Order; and to conquer *Russia*, which he erected into a *Polish* Province.

The Lustre of so many Vertues was clouded by an immoderate Incontinence. He dismissed his lawful Wife, who was the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Hesse* Castle, to receive a Concubine into his Embraces, and he privately espoused her. In all other Particulars, he approved himself a great Monarch, by the Wisdom of his Government, and the Success of his Arms and Politics.

1370.

He had hardly breathed his last, before *Poland* was overrun with Robbers, who before were kept in Awe, by their Apprehensions of condign Punishment. A *Brandenburg* Officer placed himself at the Head of a Troop of those lawless People, and seized the Castle of *Santok*, from whence he made Inroads into Great *Poland*. The *Lithuanians* made themselves Masters of the City of *Wlodzirow*, which *Casimir* had fortified, in order to keep those fierce People in Subjection. They afterwards advanced into the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, through which they spread Desolation. Every Place was involved in Confusion and Disorder.

It was intended, even in the Lifetime of *Casimir*, that *Lewis* King of *Hungary* should be his Successor, and he had taken the usual Oath to observe the *Pacta Conventa*. There was therefore no Obstacle to his Election, and he was crowned at *Cracow* the Seventeenth of *November*.

He had scarce received the Homage of his new Subjects, before he retired into *Hungary*, and left the Government of *Poland* to Queen *Elizabeth* his Mother. He carried with him the Crown, the Sceptre, the golden Globe, and the Sword, which

which were used at the Inauguration of the Kings, lest the *Poles* should elect another Prince in his Absence.

*Jagellon* Duke of *Lithuania*, taking Advantage of the Absence of *Lewis*, passed the *San*, and extended his Troops along the Bank of that River. These Forces carried Destruction, by Fire and Slaughter, where ever they came: they plundered the Churches, and Monasteries; took a great Number of Prisoners, and retreated into their Country with immense Spoils. The *Poles*, who were then under the weak Government of a Woman, suffered all these Outrages, without avenging them on the Actors.

Christendom was then divided by as dangerous a Schism, as that which had been lately extinguished. *Gregory* had, at last, quitted *Avignon*, where the Popes had resided for the Space of Seventy two Years; and this Pontiff dying soon afterwards, the People of *Rome*, who dreaded the Election of a *Frenchman*, surrounded the Conclave, and threaten'd to burn it, unless the Cardinals would elect an *Italian*. Those timorous Ecclesiastics, in order to avoid the Danger, and to preserve the Freedom of their Election, came to an Agreement among themselves that the Person they were preparing to nominate, should not be reputed the Pope, and that they would proceed to a new Election, as soon as they were free, and in a State of Security. When this Convention was settled, they nominated the Archbishop of *Bari*, who assumed the Name of *Urban VI*.

This Prelate would have been acknowledged Pope, if his Pride and Severity had not exasperated all the Cardinals against him: From the first Moments of his Pontificate, he treated them  
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in such an imperious Manner, that they soon remembered the Convention they had made at his Election. They formed several Pretexes for retiring from *Rome*, and as they were protected by the Count of *Fondi*, and *Jane* Queen of *Naples*, they elected *Robert* Count of *Geneva*, who assumed the Name of *Clement VII*.

*Urban* continued Master of *Rome*, but could engage no more than three Cardinals, of the ancient College, to espouse his Interest, so that he was obliged to create Twenty Six, and, among others, the Bishop of the Five Churches, at the Recommendation of *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary*. The Empire, in Conjunction with *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, adhered to *Urban*: Whilst *Scotland*, *France*, *Castile*, *Savoy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, declared in Favour of *Clement*, who retired to *Avignon*. The two Competitors for the Papal Chair had their respective Saints to espouse their Party, and their Pretensions, seem'd to be of equal Validity; in Consequence of which, it became necessary to depose them both, in order to extinguish the Schism.

1382.

Tho' *Lewis*, by being too much engaged in the Government of his Kingdom of *Hungary*, did not procure much Advantage to the Republick of *Poland*, he however, had so much Credit and Authority, as to cause a Successor whom he approved, to be nominated in his Lifetime. A Diet was held at *Zwolen* in *Hungary*, or rather an Assembly was convened, in Opposition to all the Laws of the State, and he propos'd to the principal Nobility of *Poland*, *Sigismund* Marquis of *Brandenburg* who had espoused his eldest Sister *Mary*, and he order'd them to take the Oaths of Allegiance

ance to him. These Lords being either gain'd upon by Presents, or intimidated by Menaces, sacrificed the Liberty of the Nation, and acknowledged *Sigismond*, who immediately entered *Poland* with his Troops.

He resided at *Gnesna*, when King *Lewis* died; and the *Poles* being then under less Constraint, loudly complain'd of *Pomarath*, a Hungarian Nobleman, whom the late King had intrusted with the Government of Great *Poland*. *Sigismond* having refused to satisfy their Demands, and likewise treating them in too imperious a Manner, provoked them by such a Conduct. We may add too, that *Sigismond's* Election was irregular, and the Oaths that had been taken to him, could not be considered as obligatory on the Nation. The *Poles*, therefore, opposed the Coronation of this Prince, and assembled, in order to deliberate on the present State of the Republick.

The Diet came to a Resolution to offer the Crown to *Hedwiga*, the second Daughter of *Lewis*, provided she would espouse a Prince whom the *Poles* should approve, and who should be obliged to reside in the Kingdom. Some Time after this Transaction, *Sernovit*, Duke of *Mazovia* was chosen to espouse the Queen; but *Elizabeth* Queen of *Hungary*, and Mother of *Hedwiga*, would not accept of him for a Son-in-Law, and her Intrigues were so prevalent, that his Election was rendered ineffectual.

*Hedwiga*, therefore set out for *Poland*, where she was received with the Acclamations of all her Subjects; and scarce were the Ceremonials of her Coronation compleated, when *Jagellon*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, sent a magnificent Embassy

1383.

1385.  
An Embassy  
from *Jagellon*;  
and the  
Pretensions  
of the Duke  
of *Austria*.

to



to demand the Queen in Marriage; He promised to embrace the Christian Religion, and to employ his utmost Endeavours for the Conversion of his Subjects; he likewise engaged to release the Christian Slaves, and particularly the *Polish*, and to incorporate for ever, *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, and his *Russian* Territories, with the Kingdom of *Poland*; and lastly, that he would reconquer *Pomerania*, and the Territory of *Culm*, together with *Silesia*, and all the other Dominions which had been usurped from *Poland*.

*Jagellon*, by these advantageous Offers, easily obtained his Desire: The Queen of *Hungary* approved this Alliance, and left the Transaction of the whole Affair, to the Prudence of the *Polish* Nobility, who immediately complied with the Duke of *Lithuania's* Demand; but they acted in this Particular, without consulting the Heart of the young Queen, who entertained a Passion for *William* Duke of *Austria*, to whom she had been promised by King *Lewis* her Father; and she only considered *Jagellon* as a *Barbarian* Prince, and the Sovereign of a cruel and idolatrous Nation.

The Duke of *Austria*, having received Intelligence of what was transacting in *Poland*, advanced with all possible Expedition to *Cracow*, where he was received by Order of the Queen, notwithstanding the Disapprobation of the Castellan. He had several private Interviews with her, entertained her with magnificent Feasts, and the Two Lovers were on the Point of defeating all the Projects of the Senate. Their secret Interviews alarmed the Nobility, who appear'd in Arms before the Castle, and constrained the Duke to retire. The Queen, amidst her Despair at being sever'd from the Prince she loved, had likewise the Mortification

tion to behold herself, in some Measure, a Prisoner in her own Palace.

*Jagellon*, in the mean Time, advanced towards *Cracow*, with a numerous Body of Troops, and accompanied by *Boris*, and *Swidrigelon*, his Brothers. But as *Hedwiga* had declared that she would not see him, this Disposition of the Princess retarded his March. The Senate threw themselves at her Feet, and made the most pressing Instances, in order to prevail upon her to see the Duke of *Lithuania*. The Queen at last complied with their Sollicitations, and *Jagellon* was introduced into her Presence. This Prince was young and amiable, *Hedwiga* no longer remembered *William of Austria*, and her Heart immediately corresponded with her Duty. 1386.

*Jagellon* was the Grandson of *Gedimin*, Grand Marshal of *Lithuania*, who was prompted, by Love and Ambition, to assassinate Duke *Vithena*, in order to espouse his Widow, and usurp his Throne. He however, was guilty of a prosperous Iniquity, and left his Crown to his Seven Children. *Janut* had, at first, the Title of Great Duke of *Lithuania*, by his Father's Appointment; but *Olgerd*, and *Kiestut*, two of his Brothers, revolted from him; drove him out of *Vilna*, and divested him of his Principality. *Olgerd* began his Reign about the Year 1327, and was engaged in a perpetual War with the Knights of the Teutonic Order: He ravaged *Brandenburg*; defeated the Duke of *Muscovy*; extended his Conquests within Twelve Miles of the Capital of that State, and subdued the greatest Part of *Russia*.

He was succeeded by *Jagellon*, the bravest of all his Sons, and whose Interest was supported by the Credit of his Uncle *Kiestut*: but this Harmony

mony between the Unkle and the Nephew was soon disconcerted by *Voidilon*, the Favourite of *Jagellon*. He had espoused the Sister of his Prince, and *Kiestut*, who resented such a disproportionable Alliance, left nothing unattempted to break it. *Voidilon* was sollicitous, therefore, to revenge the Contempt with which he had been treated by *Kiestut*, and prevent the Effects of his Aversion to him; and as he maintain'd a great Ascendant over the Mind of his Master, he easily prevailed upon him to believe, that his Unkle was forming a Conspiracy against him. The credulous *Jagellon* made a secret Treaty with the Teutonic Knights, with a View to crush *Kiestut*, and then share his Spoils; but that Prince, receiving Information of the Plot that was preparing against him, prevented the Designs of his Nephew; surpris'd *Vilna*, and made *Jagellon* his Prisoner. *Violoda*, the Son of *Kiestut*, endeavoured to accommodate the Difference between his Father and his Cousin. *Jagellon* resigned the City of *Vilna*, and the Title of Great Duke of *Lithuania*; but this Treaty was only observed till *Jagellon* found himself in a Condition to reconquer what he had lost, and he surpris'd *Vilna*, whilst *Kiestut* was engaged in the Siege of *Novogrod*.

He was vigilant to improve this first Advantage, and the Absence of his Enemy; in Consequence of which he afterwards besieged the Fortrefs of *Troki*, and carried it, after a few days Siege.

*Kiestut*, when he received Intelligence of what had been transacted in *Lithuania*, rais'd the Siege of *Novogrod*, and march'd against *Jagellon*; but being sensible that he was too weak to Hazard a decisive Battle, he retir'd into *Samogitia*, where he rais'd new Recruits, and then march'd with  
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an Intention to besiege *Troki*. *Jagellon* waited for his Arrival, and had made all the necessary Dispositions for an advantageous Attack. The *Prussians* and *Livonians* marched to his Assistance, and had then join'd the *Lithuanian* Army; upon which he advanced against *Kieslut*, to compel him to raise the Siege, and come to an Engagement. The two Armies confronted each other; and all the Preparations were made for a general Action, when a Conference was proposed by *Jagellon*. *Kieslut* and his Son *Vitbolda* came to the Place appointed, with too little Precaution, and *Jagellon* caused them to be seized and carried Prisoners to *Vilna*. A few Days after this Proceeding, *Kieslut* was assassinated by the Order of his Nephew, and *Vitbolda* would have suffered the same Fate, if he had not found Means to escape from his Confinement. He retired, at first, to the Duke of *Mazovia*, his Relation, and afterwards to *Samogitia*, where he was furnished with powerful Succours, by the Teutonic Knights. *Jagellon* could easily have overwhelmed him in the Interim of these Proceedings, but whether it was, that the ancient Friendship which had formerly created a Union between him and *Vitbolda*, gave him new Impressions in Favour of that Prince, or else that he was apprehensive of the Consequences of that War, he proposed an Accommodation, which the other accepted, and the two Cousins closed their Differences with a sincere Reconciliation.

*Jagellon* having happily calmed the Troubles of *Lithuania*, was elected King of *Poland*, as we have already intimated; and when his new Subjects had sworn Allegiance to him, he united the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, together with *Samogitia*, and *Russia*, to the Kingdom of *Poland*, and

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confirmed



confirmed this Incorporation by an Oath which he took before the principal Senators.

The Knights of *Prussia* beheld the Union of two such potent Monarchies, with jealous Eyes, and their Politics made them apprehensive, that the new Alliance which had for ever associated the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, would prove fatal to them. They were likewise sensible, that *Jagellon* would soon claim *Pomerania*, and that he was engaged, by one of the principal Conditions of his Election, to declare War against them, for the Recovery of that Province. As they therefore considered him as a declared Enemy, they marched two Armies into *Lithuania*, with an Intention to seize some Place of Importance, and to effect a Revolution in Favour of Duke *Andrew*, the Brother of *Jagellon*. As this Prince was then in *Poland*, and had been followed thither by the chief of his Nobility, the Knights obtain'd great Advantages, in their first Operations of War, and carried Fire and Sword into the Heart of *Lithuania*, which lay open and defenceless; and when they had committed these cruel Ravages, they made themselves Masters of the Fortrefs of *Poloczka*, and the Castle of *Lubowlia*: But the King of *Poland* having received Intelligence of this Irruption, sent his Brother *Skirgellon*, and his Cousin *Vitholda*, into *Lithuania*, from whence they chased the Knights and recovered the Places they had taken.

*Vincent*, Palatine of *Pofna*, and *Domarat* Starost of the same City, had, for several Years, fomented, by their Divisions, a civil War in the upper *Poland*. The Princess *Hedwiga*, and her Mother *Elizabeth* had employed several ineffectual Endeavours to calm these Troubles, and the two Parties, who were equally rebellious, contemned

temned the Orders of their Sovereign, since they were not accompanied with a sufficient Power to inforce them. The People groaned under the Yoke of various Tyrants. The whole Province was laid desolate by Ravages, Murders and Conflagrations: *Jagellon* marched against them, within a few Days after his Coronation; punished the most criminal amongst them, and restored Tranquillity to those Palatinates.

This Prince, accompanied by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and several other Prelates, took a Progress into *Lithuania*, in order to effect the Conversion of his ancient Subjects. The Inhabitants of *Lithuania*, and *Samogitia* were formerly Worshipers of Fire. Their Chief Priest, who was called *Zinez*, and the other subordinate Priests were obliged to keep it burning Night and Day: and if this sacred Fire happen'd to be extinguished, by any Neglect, they were punished with Death. The principal Temple was at *Vilna*, which was then the Capital of *Lithuania*, and some Remains of that Temple are still to be seen in one of the Castles of that City. If the Sun was at any Time, so obscured by Clouds, as not to be visible for some Days, the whole Nation crowded to the Temple, in the utmost Terror, to appease that offended Deity by human Sacrifices. When that Luminary was eclipsed, the Consternation, and barbarous Superstition of those Idolaters were augmented. Gloomy Forests and lofty spreading Trees excited their Veneration; they consider'd them as the Mansions where their Gods resided, and approached with an Air of Reverence, in order to receive their Oracles. Serpents were likewise the Objects of their Adoration, and they paid such religious

1387.

Honour to Vipers, that each Father of a Family was obliged to nourish one of those noxious Animals, and to respect it as the tutelar God of his House.

*Jagellon* laid the Temple of *Vilna* in Ruins, and extinguished the perpetual Fire; he likewise cut down all the Forests that afforded Retreats to the *Lithuanian* Priests, and crushed their Serpents to Death. When the People, who were blinded by Ignorance and long Habitudes, beheld the Demolition of their Temples, they were immediately convinced of the Impotence of their Gods; they then renounced the Worship of those weak Idols, and came in Crowds to be baptised. The Number of Catechumens was so great, that they were only baptised by Aspersions; and none but the most distinguished among them received that Sacrament in private, and with the usual Ceremonies. *Jagellon* left Priests in that Country to instruct the People; he likewise erected a Bishoprick at *Vilna*, and as he was obliged to return to *Poland*, he constituted his Brother *Skirgellon*, their Duke.

This Prince was altogether unworthy of that Rank. His Disposition was cruel and impetuous, and he was equally formidable to his Friends and Foes. In a Word, he never ceased to be dreadful, but when he had been debilitated by some Debauch. The new Power he had acquired, render'd him still more untractable. His Cousin *Vitholda*, who had been engaged in some Disagreement with him, could not think himself safe, in a Country that was governed by such a barbarous and vindictive Prince. He therefore retired from *Lithuania*, and took Refuge in *Prussia*, among the Teutonic Knights, the usual Asylum of the Disaffected. They received him with open Arms, but rather as an Instrument who might be

be serviceable to their Designs, than with any Intention to be Assistant to him in his own Affairs. *Vitbolda*, who soon discovered, that the Knights of this Order were attentive to no Interest but their own, had Recourse to *Jagellon*, who promised him the Duchy of *Lithuania*.

*Jagellon* having been deficient in the Performance of his Promise, *Vitbolda* retired a second Time to the Knights of *Prussia*, who, under the Pretext of raising him to the Throne, and deposing *Skirgellon*, but in reality, to make themselves Masters of that Province, enter'd *Lithuania* with three Armies. The Grand Master of *Prussia* commanded the first Body, which was composed of *English*, *Germans* and *French*. The Grand Master of *Livonia* led the second, and *Vitbolda* the third. They, at first, extended themselves along the Plains, and spread their Devastations through the greatest Part of the Duchy: after which they fell upon the City of *Troki*, and reduced it to Ashes. They all united, at last, before *Vilna* the Capital of *Lithuania*. The Troops of the Garrison, who were in the lower City, declared for *Vitbolda*, and even set Fire to the Place. The unfortunate *Corigal*, another of *Jagellon's* Brothers, fell into the Hands of the Knights, as he was endeavouring to avoid the Flames, and they immediately cut off his Head. Fourteen Thousand Persons of both Sexes perished with him, and all those who escaped the Flames were massacred with the utmost Barbarity.

The upper City was defended by a Garrison composed of *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, and *Russians*. The *Lithuanians* were devoted to *Vitbolda*, and had determined to surrender the Place to him, in Imitation of their Countrymen who had open'd to him



the Gates of the lower City: but the *Poles* who had some Suspicion of their Intelligence with the Enemy, disconcerted their Measures, and turned their Thoughts to a timely Prevention of the Treason. They accordingly seized all the Posts; mounted the Guard themselves, and would not permit the *Lithuanian* Troops to have any Share in the Defence of the Place.

The *Poles*, who were thought to be more qualified for an Engagement, than to form or sustain Sieges, perhaps never discovered more Bravery and Resolution than they manifested in the Defence of *Vilna*. They were attacked by an Army composed of the most warlike Nations of the North: The weak Ramparts of the Place were soon reduced to Ashes: The Garrison, whose Numbers were inconsiderable, and who were likewise divided into different Parties, were almost as much obliged to oppose their own Troops, as they were to encounter the Enemy; and yet they defended themselves with Success. The *Poles* raised a counter Wall, behind those Walls which the Engines of the Besiegers had demolished. They even formed a Rampart, out of the Bodies of their Companions who were slain in different Attacks; and not satisfied with confining themselves to the Defensive, they sometimes went to seek the Enemy in their Intrenchments, undermined their Works, and killed a great Number of their Men. *Totivil*, the Brother of *Vitholda*, was slain, in one of those Sallies, by a Faulcon Shot.

So obstinate a Resistance afforded *Skirgellon* Time to draw a Body of Troops together, in order to relieve the Place. He frequently attacked the *Prussian* Lines, and tho' he could not force them in their Camp, he harrassed them to  
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such a Degree, and killed such a Number of their Soldiers in different Encounters, that the Weakness to which they were reduced by these Losses, compelled them to raise the Siege, after they had destroyed all the adjacent Country by Fire and Sword.

*Vitbolda* returned, the next Year, to besiege *Vilna* a second Time. He depended on his Intelligence with the *Lithuanians* who abhorred their Duke *Skirgellon*; but the same *Poles*, who had already compelled him to raise the former Siege, render'd all his Efforts ineffectual, and obliged him to retire. He, however, made himself Master of *Wilkomirov*, and *Novogrodeck*, and reduced them to Ashes, after he had plundered them.

*Lithuania* was then in the most calamitous Situation, and its Inhabitants were so fatigued with the cruel Wars they had sustained, that they formed a Resolution to abandon their Country. The Cities smok'd all around them; the Country was a Scene of Desolation; the Peasants were all fled with their Families, into inaccessible Retreats; the Gentry of the greatest Distinction among them, were either slain, or doom'd to a rigid Captivity. In these deplorable Conjunctions, the King of *Poland* thought it incumbent on him to come to an Accommodation with *Vitbolda*, who had been the Author and Chief of this destructive War; and he, at last, gave him the Duchy of *Lithuania*, and restored to him all his patrimonial Domains.

1392.

*Jagellon* satisfied the ambitious Desires of *Vitbolda*, but he discontented his own Brothers. *Swidrigellon* pass'd into *Prussia*, and the Knights, whose Interest it was to promote these intestine Divisions, furnish'd him with a Body of Troops. *Skirgellon* had likewise an Inclination to Commoti-

ons, but the King of *Poland* prevented this Storm from burſting, and appeaſed the Brothers, by augmenting their Revenues.

*Vitbolda*, during the firſt Years of his Government, devoted all his Care to the Reparation of thoſe Calamities that the War had occaſioned; but when once the Loſſes which *Lithuania* had ſuſtained, were retrieved, a long Peace ſeem'd inglorious to him, and he enter'd *Tartary* with a numerous Army of *Poles*, *Lithuanians* and *Ruſſians*. He extended his victorious Arms to the Banks of the *Don*, and the *Volga*; he ravaged thoſe vaſt Countries; carried off an entire Hord of *Tartars*, and ſent them Priſoners with their Wives, and Children, into *Lithuania*: From whence Part of them were conveyed to *Poland*, and he formed thoſe he kept into a Colony in the Parts adjacent to *Vilna*. The *Tartars* who were carried into *Poland*, conſented to be baptiſed, and they became *Poles*, but the Deſcendants of thoſe who remained in *Lithuania*, are diſtinguiſhable to this Day. They have retained the Religion and Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, and tho' they are conſidered as Members of the State, yet they always march to War, under particular Enſigns, which are remarkable for their *Arabic* Inſcriptions.

1399.

*Vitbolda* was ſtill more ambitious of Glory, after this happy Expedition, and he determined to employ the numerous People who obeyed him, in the Conqueſt of Grand *Tartary*. *Temirlanc*, or *Tamerlan*, who acquired ſo much Glory by the Victory he afterwards obtained over *Bajazet*, reigned at that Time, and had already render'd himſelf formidable to all *Aſia*. *Jagellon* employed his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent

vent *Vitbolda* from engaging in so dangerous a War, and represented to him the Inequality of his Forces, to those of the Emperor of the *Tartars*; but the impetuous Courage of *Vitbolda* prevailed over all those judicious Remonstrances. He departed, therefore, at the Head of a numerous Army, and was accompanied by all the bravest Men in *Poland*, *Russia*, and *Lithuania*. He, at first, was successful in all his military Operations, and overran Part of *Tartary* without the least Resistance. The *Tartars* even ravaged their own Country, with a View to draw *Vitbolda* into those vast Solitudes, and fled before him, in order to engage him to more Advantage, in some unfavourable Situation, and when his Troops should be fatigued with their long Marches. He was posted on the Banks of the *Volga*, when the out Scouts brought him Intelligence, that the Enemy began to appear. Their Army was immensely numerous, and *Ediga* the Lieutenant of *Tamerlan* was their Commander. Some previous Conferences for an Accommodation were held, and *Vitbolda*, finding himself in a disadvantageous Post, where he was confronted by an Army much more numerous than his own, was inclinable to Peace; when some Officers, who were more courageous than prudent, opposed that Disposition, and prevailed upon him to resolve on a Battle. *Vitbolda* suffer'd himself to be persuaded, and performed Prodigies of Valour, in the Engagement. He broke through the Enemies Battalions; exposed his Person where the *Tartars* were most numerous, and conquered where ever he appeared. But it may be said that he had more Armies than one to encounter; for whilst a hundred Thousand *Tartars* fled before him, the *Lithuanian* Army was attacked by Three Hundred Thousand more, and



and opposed them as long as it was possible for them to stand before such a prodigious Number of Enemies as surrounded them; till at last they were overwhelmed, after they had compelled their Foes to pay dear for their Victory. *Andrew, Demetrius, and Koribut, the Brothers of Jagellon, were slain upon the Spot, with most of the Officers.*

1401.  
The War  
with the  
Teutonic  
Knights.

Neither the Forces, nor the Courage of *Vitbolda*, were intimidated by this Defeat. The *Prussians*, in Conjunction with the *Livonians*, made an unexpected Irruption into *Lithuania*, and committed great Ravages, after which, they retreated with their Prisoners and Booty. *Vitbolda*, who did not think it adviseable to engage them, imagined he might be capable of defeating them, if he could but attack them by Surprise, and he accordingly followed them to the Frontiers. Their Army, in a full Persuasion of Safety, had already begun to retire into Winter Quarters, when the Duke of *Lithuania* attacked and defeated them, after an obstinate Engagement. The Conqueror made cruel Reprisals on *Livonia*; sacked a great Number of Towns, ravaged the Country; and after he had forced the City and Castle of *Dwina*, he abandoned them both to Plunder, and then reduced them to Ashes.

Much about the same Time, the Flight of *Swidrigellon*, the Brother of *Jagellon*, to the Teutonic Knights, excited new Motives to War, but the King of *Poland*, after some Devastations had been committed on both sides, appeased his Brother by the Donation of *Podolia*: but this Treaty did not long fix the turbulent Disposition of *Swidrigellon*; for he soon resumed his former Sentiments, and as he could not retire once more into *Prussia*, to the Knights who had betrayed and aban-

abandon'd his Cause, he fled into *Muscovy*, after he had ravaged with Fire and Sword the Countries which had been assigned to him for his Revenue. Duke *Basilus*, who had been embroiled with *Vitbolda*, received the disgusted Prince with Pleasure, and furnished him with Troops; but the Duke of *Lithuania* soon assembled an Army, and went to seek *Swidrigellon* in *Muscovy* it self. The Devastations he had committed, and the Terror of his Arms compelled *Basilus* to sue for Peace, which he accordingly obtained.

The *Poles* and the *Lithuanians*, who were now become one People, marched, soon afterwards, against their common Enemy. The Knights of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, who had enriched themselves by their different Usurpations, acted with more Imperiousness than Kings themselves, whom they equalled in Power. These Treaties were a weak Restraint to their Ambition, and the least Appearance of their own Interest, constantly furnished them with new Pretexts, for the violation of their most solemn Oaths. Sudden Invasions, Injustice and open Violence, palliated by exorbitant Privileges, were the different Expedients to which they had recourse for the Extension of their Frontiers. *Prussia* was a Sanctuary to all such as were disaffected to their own Government, and the Knights, under the Name of those People, carried Fire and Sword into the adjacent Territories. By such Proceedings as these, the Teutonic Order had made themselves Masters of *Samogitia*, *Pomerania*, and *Culm*, together with Part of *Mazovia*, and *Silesia*, and several Places in *Poland* and *Russia*. The Ravages they committed in those Provinces are almost inexpressible; they were incapable of Compassion in their Conquests, and destroyed whatever they thought

thought useless to them ; by which Means all the Advantages they derived from their Acquisitions, were constantly blacken'd with the most implacable Barbarities ; so that if *Poland* had not, from Time to Time, made some Efforts to reпреis the Avidity of those formidable Neighbours, they would have overrun all the North in a short Time.

*Jagellon*, at last, came to a Resolution to punish such a series of Crimes and Injustice, and to march in Person against the Knights, at the Head of an Army composed of *Poles*, *Russians*, *Moravians*, and *Bobemians*, and which was soon augmented by the Conjunction of a Body of *Lithuanians* and *Tartars*, commanded by *Vitbolda*, and likewise of the Troops of *Semovith* and *Janussa* Dukes of *Mazovia*.

Their first Operations were employed against the Castle of *Szwyczic*, which *Janussa Brzozoglowi* took by a Stratagem. He first formed an Ambush in the Parts adjacent to the Place, and then advanced, at the Head of a small Body of Troops, to Pillage under the Ramparts, in the Sight of the Garrison, who immediately sallied out, with a full Persuasion that they should repulse the Enemy. The *Poles* counterfeited a Flight towards their Ambuscade, and gradually drew on their Enemies who were then surrounded and cut in Pieces. The Castle, being left destitute of Defence, was obliged to surrender ; and this first Advantage was deemed a certain Presage of Victory, and greatly increased the Ardour of the *Poles*. Some Days after this Event, they carried the City of *Dambrowno* by Assault. The Soldiers had advanced towards that Place, from a Motive of Curiosity, and in order to purchase Provisions ; but having received some ill Treatment from the Inhabitants, they returned to the Camp, and

and complain'd to their Comrades, of the Outrage that had been offer'd them, and prevailed upon them to assist in the intended Vengeance. In Consequence of which, a great Body of common Soldiers, marched with Fury, and without any Chief, to the Place, and began the Attack. The King, who had no Inclination to discontinue his Progress, in order to besiege so inconsiderable a City, at a Time when it was of more Importance to advance to an Enemy who approached him, order'd the Assailants to be called off from their Attack; but to no Purpose, for they were already too far engaged in the Assault, to be attentive to his Commands. The Citizens made a vigorous Defense, and at first killed a great Number of their Enemies; so that it became necessary to succour these rash Adventurers, to prevent their total Destruction. Their Ardour was re-kindled by this Re-inforcement; their Efforts were extraordinary, and, towards the close of the Day, they forced the Place, which was immediately sacked and reduced to Ashes.

The King of *Poland* advanced, by moderate Marches, towards *Marienburg*, which was then the Capital of *Pomerania*, and took all possible Precautions against Surprisals. The Body of the Army was always kept together, and the Guard was station'd with the utmost Strictness; Detachments were however sent out to forage, and exact Contributions from the adjacent Country. Those Devastations compelled the Knights to come to an Engagement, and *Ulric of Junigen*, their Grand Master, advanced to the *Poles* in the Plains of *Tanenburg*, and *Granwaldt*.

*Jagellon* was assisting at Mass, when he received Intelligence, that the Enemy approached in Order of Battle, but he neither discontinued his Prayers,



ers, nor quitted the Chapel, till the Mass was ended. The Grand Master was astonished at the Tardiness of the *Poles*, and as he ascribed it to their Timidity, he sent, in a Bravado, two drawn Swords to the King, to be employed in the Engagement. *Jagellon* received them with Joy, and told the Heralds who presented them to him, that he should be able to use them in such a Manner, as would effectually quell the Pride of those who had offered him that Present.

The Battle was begun by the *Lithuanians*, whose Actions did not correspond with the gallant Behaviour of their Duke *Vitolda*, and they had Recourse to an ignominious Flight, after a short Resistance. This Repulse diffused a Consternation through the *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, and they retreated into a neighbouring Wood, without drawing a Sword. In a Word, the Battle would have been lost, if *Jagellon* had not supported it with a Body of Reserve, which he poured upon the Knights, who in their Pursuit of the Fugitives had disconcerted their Ranks, and by these Means he restored the Battle to its first Vigour.

The great Standard of *Poland*, carried by *Martin* of *Wroczimowic*, was hurl'd to the Earth, and the Enemies had almost made themselves Masters of it; when *Jagellon* raised it himself, and carried it into that Part of the Field where the Enemies were thickest, and then repulsed them with a prodigious Slaughter. But his Courage carried him too far, and he beheld himself almost alone, in the midst of a *German* Squadron, where he stood exposed to a Thousand Dangers. Notwithstanding which, he still opposed the Enemy, and confronted them on every Side with those of his Guards as had been able to follow him; till

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at last his Strength began to fail him : The Foe pressed him with a closer Attack, and with the utmost Ardour, so that he was reduced to the greatest Danger, and *Poland* would then have lost one of the bravest of its Kings, had not his Preservation been effected by a kind of Miracle. *Dippold* of *Kikerzicz*, a German Gentleman of extraordinary Strength, made a furious Advance to *Jagellon*, with a Poleax in his Hand. His Arm was already raised, and the King was on the Point of falling, when *Sbigna* of *Oleschnicza* intercepted the fatal Blow. He was the private Secretary of that Prince, and had followed him into the midst of so many Perils, from the Motives of Zeal and a real Affection for his Person, but as he was little acquainted with the Profession of Arms, he had not even been cautious enough to provide himself with any proper Weapons, and he carried nothing but a broken Lance, which he had accidentally gathered up from the Field of Battle. The Danger in which he beheld his Master, inspired him with a Strength and Intrepidity that were unusual to him ; and, by a desperate Effort, he threw himself between *Jagellon* and his Adversary, and overthrew the last with a Blow of his Lance.

Some Squadrons, at last, forced a Passage through their Enemies, and came to the King's Assistance, upon which Victory immediately declared in Favour of the *Poles*, and the Standard of *St. George*, which was born by the Knight *Kerzdorff* having been struck down, and taken, the *Prussians* began to lose all their Courage.

The *Bohemian* and *Lithuanian* Troops reunited together, and advanced to the Charge: The *Poles* redoubled their Efforts, and carried all before them. In a Word, 50000 *Prussians* lay dead  
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in the Field of Battle, with their Grand Master, and 40000 were made Prisoners of War.

*Jagellon* neglected to improve so important a Victory. He ought to have marched immediately to besiege *Marienburg*, which was then in a general Consternation. The City was even destitute of Defence; the Garrison had quitted it, in order to join the *Prussian* Army, and had been involved in their Defeat; in Consequence of which a single Detachment of *Polish* Troops would easily have made themselves Masters of that important Place: But the King being desirous of refreshing his Troops for some Days, *Henry* of *Plawen*, Commander of *Szwycie*, improved this Delay, in rallying the shatter'd Remains of the defeated Army, with whom he marched into *Marienburg*; which, however, was reduced to the last Extremities, and compelled to sue for Peace. The Conditions were advantageous to the *Poles*, and *Jagellon* committed another Error in rejecting them. The Commander, who then performed the Functions of the Grand Master, offer'd, in the Name of the whole Order, to yield up *Pomerania*, the Territory of *Culm*, and all the Places that had been usurped, provided a Peace were immediately concluded, and the Order left in free Possession of all *Prussia*. But the King, who was too much elated with the Advantages he had obtained, insisted, that the Knights should surrender at Discretion, and open to him the Gates of *Mariembourg*; after which they were likewise to submit to such Laws as he should think fit to impose upon them. This Inflexibility reanimated the Strength and Courage of the Knights. *Plawen* no longer listen'd to any thing but his own Desperation, when he beheld so untractable a Conqueror, who was resolved to crush the

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the whole Order, and even divest them of *Prussia*. He was, therefore, determined to make no Concessions, but to defend his Capital, and bury himself under its Ruins, rather than surrender it on such ignominious Terms.

The Siege, in the mean Time, having been drawn out into a great Length, the *Polish* Army was considerably diminished by the Distempers that reigned among them. The *Lithuanians* were so fatigued that they were the first who retreated from the Siege, and were soon followed by the Dukes of *Mazovia*; and when Intelligence had been received, that the *Hungarians* had made an Irruption on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, *Jagellon* was at last determined to raise the Siege.

The brave *Plawen* having been elected Grand Master, devoted all his Attention to the Reparation of the Losses the Knights had sustained. He sold, to the King of *Bohemia*, those Territories which the Order possessed in that Kingdom, for the Sum of 115000 Florins, and borrowed Ten Thousand more of the Citizens of *Dantzic*. He afterwards levied Troops from all Quarters, invited the *Livonians* and their Grand Master to his Assistance, caused his Places to be fortified, and prepared to re-take those of which the King of *Poland* had divested him: But Fortune was still unfavourable to him, and a new Repulse involved the Order in greater Dangers.

*Herman of Vintkiszec*, Grand Master of *Livonia*, had marched into *Prussia* with a great Army; after which he station'd his Troops in the Parts adjacent to *Golub*, and went himself to *Marienburg*, to have a Conference with the Grand Master of *Prussia*. During his Absence, *Dobeslaus Pachala* placed himself at the Head of the Garrisons

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of *Bobrowniki*, and *Ripin*, with a Resolution to attack the Enemies, whose Entrenchments betrayed them into an entire Confidence of their Safety. His Project succeeded, and was so improved by the Troubles caused by the Surprise, that he dispersed that great Army, killed a great Body of *Livonians* upon the Spot, and the Prisoners alone exceeded the victorious Army in Number.

1411.

*Jagellon* was then in a Condition to have crushed the Knights, who were destitute of Forces, and deprived of their last Resource, by the Defeat of the *Livonians*. They, however, found Means to check the Arm of the Victor; and a secret Negotiation, concerted with *Vittholda* Duke of *Lithuania*, in Conjunction with a Profusion of Presents, preserved the Teutonic Order from impending Ruin. *Plawen* promised *Vittholda*, to yield up *Samogitia* to him, and to erect the great Duchy of *Lithuania* into a Kingdom. His Bounties likewise gain'd upon those Lords who had most Access to their Prince, and, by their Influence, he obtained a Truce, which was succeeded by a Treaty of Peace; in which the Welfare of the State was sacrificed to the Interest of particular Persons; and *Jagellon*, resigning the Conquests which were the Property of the Republick, contented himself with 160000 Ducats, for the Expence of the War.

1414:  
The Council  
of Constance.

The Church, for the Space of Forty Years, had been divided by the Pretensions of three different Popes; but this dangerous Schism was at last extinguished by the Conduct of the Emperor *Sigismund*, who not thinking it sufficient to send Ambassadors to the Courts of the Christian Princes, took

took a Progress, in Person, through the greatest Part of Europe, in order to concert proper Measures, with Respect to the Council which was convoked at *Constance*, and to which he prevailed upon *Jagellon* to send the Archbishop of *Gnesna*. *John XXXIII.* was compelled to abdicate, after several vain Efforts to elude that Sentence. *Gregory* acted with a better Grace, and made the Resignation by Proxy, but nothing could gain upon the obstinate Ambition of *Benedict*; who was resolved to continue in the Papal Chair, and had shut himself up in his Castle of *Paniscola* in *Arragon*, where he died.

After the Deposition of these three Popes, Cardinal *Otho Colonna*, who assumed the Name of *Martin V.* was elected, and universally acknowledged as the lawful Successor of *St. Peter*. *John Hus*, who for some Time had propagated the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, in *Bobemia*, was condemned in this Council, notwithstanding the Passport he had obtain'd from the Emperor, for his Appearance at *Constance*.

Whilst *Sigismund*, who was more attentive to the Extinction of this Schism, than to the Government of his Dominions, assisted at the Council, the Barons of *Hungary* assembled the Army, by their own Authority, and enter'd *Turkey*, but were repulsed and defeated. The *Ottoman* Troops advanced into *Hungary* after their Victory, and penetrated as far as the County of *Cilly*; taking several Places, and creating Apprehensions, that their Conquests would be more extensive.

In this Extremity, the Emperor, in Conjunction with the Council of *Constance*, wrote to *Jagellon*, and intreated him to employ his Credit at the *Port*, in order to concert a Truce. The King succeeded in this Negotiation, and received the

Thanks of all the Powers in Christendom, who had been alarmed at the Progress of the Infidels.

1424.

New Troubles were, in the mean Time, excited through all *Bobemia*. The Punishment inflicted on *John Hus*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* his Disciple, did not eradicate their Doctrines: They were revered by the *Bobemians* as Martyrs; the Number of their Followers encreased daily, and the Conduct of *Venceflaus* spirited them up to such a Degree, that if they did not dethrone that Prince, it was only because he always stupified himself with Intemperance, and left them in full Liberty to crush the Priests, and pillage the Churches.

Upon the Death of *Venceflaus*, the Emperor *Sigismund*, his Brother and Successor, continued unactive, and gave sufficient Time for these Doctrines to gain new Vigour. *John Ziska*, the Chief of the *Hussites*, plunder'd the *Carthusians* of *Prague*, and the richest Monasteries of *Bobemia*, with Impunity, and had even the Insolence to cause the Body of King *Venceflaus* to be taken out of the Grave, and thrown into the River. His Power being likewise increased, he founded a new City, which he called by the Name of *Tabor*; he demolished the Churches of *Prague*; formed the Siege of that Capital; defeated the Imperial Troops several Times, and compelled *Sigismund* to make an ignominious Treaty with him, of which *Ziska*, however, did not enjoy the Fruits, for he died soon after of the Plague. It is said, that he gave Orders on his Death-bed, for his Body to be cast into a Laystall, and that his Skin should be converted into the Covering of a Drum, the Sound of which alone would strike the Enemies with Consternation.

The

The Barons of the Kingdom likewise revolted from *Sigismond*, and had shut the Gates of *Prague* against him. This Action was accompanied with a Declaration, that they determined not to acknowledge him for their Prince; after which they dispatched a splendid Embassy to *Jagellon*, with Instructions to invite him to take upon himself the Government of their State, and accept of the *Bohemian* Crown. The King of *Poland*, who faithfully adhered to his Treaties with *Sigismond*, refused their Offers, but *Vitbolda*, great Duke of *Lithuania*, was not so scrupulous. This Prince sent *Coribut* into *Bohemia*, with a Body of Troops, to take Possession of the Kingdom. *Coribut* was received into *Prague*, and had already gain'd some Advantages, when the Complaints of the Emperor, and the repeated Orders of *Jagellon*, obliged him to return to *Poland*, and discontinue that Enterprize.

*Sigismond* did not conform to Treaties with the same Strictness, and he even endeavoured to foment a Division between the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lithuania*: He, in fact, proposed to *Jagellon*, at a Conference with him at *Luczko*, or *Lusna*, to join Forces with him for the Conquest of *Walachia*, and complain'd, that the King had not sent the Troops he promised him, in the War against the *Turks*. *Jagellon* replied, that he could not consent to a League against the *Walachians*, who were Feudatories to the Crown of *Poland*, and against whom he had no just Pretence for a War: That, as to the Succours promised against the *Turks*, he had faithfully executed the Treaties, and sent a Body of Auxiliaries to the Place of Rendezvous, to which the Imperial Army never came; so that the *Poles* were obliged

1429.



to retire, after they had taken a long and dangerous March to no Effect.

This judicious Answer did but exasperate the Emperor, who retained an ancient Animosity against *Jagellon*, and which was not obliterated by the Services he had received from that Prince. And tho' he was in Alliance with *Poland*, he had secretly supported the Teutonic Knights, who were the implacable Enemies of that Kingdom, and to whom he imagined he should render a Signal Service, by dissolving those Bonds which united the *Lithuanians* with the *Poles*.

*Vitbolda* was ambitious, and the Regard he was obliged to manifest to the Orders of the King, became disagreeable to him. *Sigismund* easily discovered the Sentiments of the Duke, and in order to induce him to persist in that Disposition, he entred into a secret Teaty with him, promising to erect *Lithuania* into a Kingdom in his Favour, and to send him the royal Crown as soon possible, but the Negotiation was discovered, and the *Poles* omitted nothing to prevent its Execution.

*Vitbolda*, exasperated at the Opposition that had been formed against his Grandeur, retired to *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, from whence he sent Ambassadors to *Sigismund*, with Instructions to press him to a Compliance with his Promise. The Senat of *Poland*, growing more alarmed at the Resolution of *Vitbolda*, and being likewise desirous to prevent a civil War, thought it expedient to flatter his Ambition, in order to divert him from his ambitious Views. *Sbigna*, Bishop of *Cracow*, had Orders to offer him the Crown of *Poland*, after the Death of *Jagellon*, and *Vitbolda* would have closed with such an advantageous Proposal, if the Shame of discontinuing a Project that was so far advanced, and the Insinuations of his Flatterers had

had not prevented him; it became necessary therefore to have recourse to other Measures.

The *Poles* caused the Pope to be informed of all that had been transacted between the Emperor and the Duke of *Lithuania*, to the Prejudice of their Republick, and their Complaints were favourably received. *Martin V.* sent two different Briefs to *Sigismond* and *Vitbolda*, by which he prohibited the one from offering, and the other from accepting the Crown.

*Sigismond*, notwithstanding the Orders of the Pope, sent Ambassadors to *Vitbolda*, with Letters, wherein he assured him of a speedy Execution of the Treaty between them, and exhorted him to enter into a League, which was then forming between *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the Knights of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, against *Poland*; but *Jagellon* having received Information of the Measures taken by the Imperial Ministers, for entering *Lithuania*, caused their March to be observed by *John Czarnikowski*, Castellan of *Posnania*, who happily executed the Orders with which he was charged; stopped the Ambassadors on the Frontiers of *Saxony* and *Poland*, and seized their Dispatches. When the Emperor's Designs were known, and when the Danger that threatned the Kingdom became publick, the Gentlemen of upper *Poland* assembled of their own accord, and posted Guards in all the Passages; in consequence of which Proceeding, the other Ambassadors whom the Emperor had dispatched to *Vitbolda*, not daring to expose themselves to the Danger of being seized, and carried off by the *Polish* Troops, returned into *Hungary*, without accomplishing any Part of their Commission. *Vitbolda*, who expected them with Impatience, being informed that they had

1430.

returned without daring to attempt a Passage to him, was so extremely mortified at that Disappointment, that he died at *Troki*, in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had reconciled himself with the King of *Poland*.

The Character of *Vitholda*.

This Prince was Master of those Qualities and Defects that are usually observed in Heroes. His Ambition was supported by an Intrepidity of Mind, which precipitated him into the utmost Dangers, and caused him to form the greatest as well as the rashest Designs. He went to seek for *Tamerlane* in the midst of *Tartary*, and what did he not attempt, in order to obtain the regal Dignity? He was rather feared, than beloved, by his People, and yet they lamented his Death, because he had always been an equitable Judge, tho' he possibly might have conducted himself with too much Severity. He carried his Frugality into an Abstemiousness from Wine, during his whole Life, but he preserved at the same Time, an invincible Inclination to the fair Sex, even to the utmost Impotency of old Age. The King nominated Prince *Switrigal*, or *Swidrigelon*, his Brother, for his Successor.

1434.  
The Death of *Jagellon*.

*Jagellon* died, a few Years after, in a very advanced old Age. *Ladislaus V.* his eldest Son and Successor, was elected, at the Age of Eleven Years, by the Influence of Cardinal *Sbigna* Bishop of *Cracow*, who made the *Poles* sensible it was their Interest, that *Lithuania*, to whose Sovereignty the House of *Jagellon* had an hereditary Right, should continue incorporated with *Poland*; and from that Time, to the Year 1572, when *Sigismund Augustus*, the last Prince of that House, died, the *Jagellons* always filled the Throne of *Poland*.

Young

Young *Ladislaus* was likewise elected King of Hungary, after the Death of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and he was hardly in peaceable Possession of the Throne, before he prepared to re-conquer those Places which the *Turks* had wrested from the Despot of *Rascia*, his Friend and Vassal. Some Overtures for an Accommodation were at first proposed, but as *Amurath*, Emperor of the *Turks*, insisted on a Tribute, *Ladislaus*, by the Persuasion of the famous *John Hunniades*, Vaivode of *Transylvania*, broke off the Conferences, and War was resolved upon. 1440.

Its first Operations were attended with Success, and *Ladislaus* recovered several Places in *Rascia*. *Hunniades*, with a single Detachment from the Christian Army, killed 30000 *Turks*, and took 4000 of them Prisoners. The Conquerors afterwards ravaged *Bulgaria*, and the Frontiers of *Macedonia*; and the *Basha* of *Natolia*, having attempted to oppose their Progress, was defeated and compelled to have Recourse to a dishonourable Flight, among the neighbouring Mountains, with the shatter'd Remains of his Army.

*Amurath*, after the Loss of this Battle, was compelled to sue for Peace, and, in order to obtain it, he yielded up all his Conquests in *Rascia*, and *Servia*: But this Treaty was soon violated, by the Persuasion of Cardinal *Julian* the Pope's Legate, who represented to the King, that the *Turks* never made Treaties, but when the Situation of their Affairs would not permit them to continue a War: That *Amurath* was greatly intimidated, and was likewise destitute of Troops, and defenceless; and therefore, that it was necessary to compleat his Overthrow, amidst Conjunctions that were so favourable to Christendom. This Discourse



course easily stagger'd a young Prince, who was intoxicated with his first Success, and in order to determine him more effectually, the Legate abused his Authority so far, as to feign the Receipt of a special Power from the Pope, to absolve *Ladislaus* from the Oath he had taken at the Ratification of the Treaty.

The King, therefore, placed himself at the Head of his Army, and marched into *Bulgaria*, where he advanced below *Nicopolis* the Capital of that Province, and then enter'd *Thrace*, where he took some Castles. His Intention was to attack *Adrianople*; but *Amurath*, tho' he was surpris'd at such an unexpected Rupture, yet he was not wanting to himself on that Occasion. He assembled a Body of Troops in Haste, and marched from *Asia* into *Europe*, notwithstanding the Efforts of the Christian Fleet, which blocked up the Streights of *Gallipoli*.

The Battle  
of *Varna*;  
and Death  
of *Ladislaus*.

The two Armies faced each other near *Varna*, a City of *Moldavia*, when *Amurath*, laying his Hand on the Treaty which had been sworn to by *Ladislaus*, and appealing to God as a Witness to the Perfidy of the Christians, who had dared to violate all that was most sacred in their Religion, began the Battle with the greater Confidence of Success, as he declared, that he hoped *Jesus Christ* himself would espouse his Cause; and he, indeed, was victorious. The Christian Troops were put to Flight, after an obstinate Resistance, and the Cardinal Legate, who chiefly promoted the Infraction of the Treaty, and the Perjury of *Ladislaus*, was involved in the Slaughter. The young King likewise perished, after he had given Proofs of a Courage much superior to his Age. Thus *Ladislaus* fell, after he had reigned Ten Years in *Poland*, and Four in *Hungary*, and before

fore he had attain'd the Age of Twenty one Years.

*Casimir*, great Duke of *Lithuania*, and the second Son of *Jagellon*, succeeded *Ladislaus*: The *Polish* Nobility elected him soon after the Battle of *Varna*, but he accepted of the Crown with some Difficulty, and was not acknowledged, till Three Years after the Death of his Brother.

*Moldavia* was the Scene of the first Operations of the *Polish* Arms, under the Reign of this Prince. The Vaivode *Alexander*, who was a Feudatory to the Kingdom of *Poland*, implored the Assistance of *Casimir*, against *Bogdan*, the natural Son of an ancient Vaivode of that Province, and who pretended to the Sovereignty, on Default of lawful Heirs of his Father. The King sent *John Oliwski* into that Country, and the Usurper was compelled to fly: But as soon as the *Polish* Army had withdrawn, he assembled a Band of Robbers, by whose Aid he obtain'd such great Advantages, that *Alexander* was obliged to fly into *Podolia*.

A new Army, therefore, was sent into *Moldavia*; but as soon as the Troops appeared, *John* retired to Mountains and Places that were inaccessible; and as it was impossible to come up with him, in order to finish, by a Battle, a War which spread Desolation through that Province. An Accommodation was proposed to him, and he pretended to accept it; but the very Day when the Peace was concluded, the perfidious *Moldavian* attacked the Army, and would easily have overwhelmed it, in the Defile it was preparing to enter, if a Deserter had not, a few Hours before, informed the *Polish* Generals of *Bogdan's* Design. Upon this Intelligence they prepared for Action, as much as the Situation of the Place would permit, and they obtain'd a compleat Victory, tho' it proved too fatal to *Poland*, by the Death  
of

of the Palatine *Leopold*, and of *Nicholas Parawa*, with several Lords of the first Distinction.

1452.

*Bogdan* was not intimidated by this Defeat, and he soon appear'd at the Head of a new Body of Troops; so that, in Order to end so cruel a War, the Government of *Moldavia* was proposed to him, during the Minority of the young Vaivode *Alexander*. *Bogdan* accepted this Offer, and was preparing to go to *Kaminiec*, in order to treat with the *Polish* Lords, who had been sent thither by the King, when a *Moldavian*, named *Peter*, caused him to be assassinated. This *Moldavian* was one of *Alexander's* Friends, and the Murder was even avowed by that young Prince: But *Peter* had secret Pretensions to the Throne, and he destroyed *Bogdan*, with no other View than to succeed in his Place. *Alexander* was afterwards poisoned, and *Peter* found Means to support himself in his Usurpation.

1454.

The Yoke of the Teutonic Knights being render'd insupportable to their Subjects, the Tyranny of this religious Order, effected that in Favour of *Poland*, which, till then, it never had been able to obtain by all its Efforts and Victories. The *Prussians* were so oppressed by the Exactions, and exposed in such a Manner to the Barbarity of their unrelenting Masters, that they openly revolted from them. The Knights, amidst this general Conspiracy, could only preserve *Marienburg* and *Schut*; whilst *Tborn*, *Dantzic*, *Elbing*, *Golub*, *Culm*, and several other Cities implored the Assistance of *Casimir*, and solicited him to furnish them with Troops. The King gave a favourable Reception to their Deputies; created Four Palatines for *Tborn*, *Elbing*, *Krowlowgrad*, and

and *Dantzic*; abrogated the exorbitant Imposts, and prepared to march into *Prussia*, to deliver it effectually from the Tyrants, and receive the Homage of his new Subjects.

This first Expedition, however, was not so successful as it was just, and *Casimir* was defeated by an Army of *Germans*, and *Silesians*. The Siege of *Marienburg*, which the Inhabitants of the Country had attacked incessantly for several Months, was raised in Consequence of this Overthrow.

This Disgrace was so far from diminishing the Courage of the *Poles*, that it rather contributed to animate them the more. They defeated the Knights in several Engagements, made themselves Masters of their strongest Castles, and, at last, seized the Citadel of *Marienburg*, which was surrender'd to them by *Ulric Czirvoncza*, and the Garrison, with all the Ammunition and Provisions that had been deposited there.

1457.

The Grand Master still found Means to assemble a great Army, by the Assistance of his Friends, and recover'd some Fortresses, which, for a Time, protracted his entire Defeat; but *Casimir* having easily dispersed these new Levies, and taken the City of *Choinicz* by Assault, this imperious Order, which had caused all the *North* to tremble, was obliged to submit, and humbly sue for Peace.

This the King of *Poland* was inclinable to grant them, at the Sollicitation of several Sovereign Princes, and it was concluded at *Thorn*. The Knights yielded up to *Poland*, the Territories of *Culm*, *Michlow*, and the Duchy of *Pomerania*, according to their ancient Limits; and *Marienburg*, *Schut*, *Cristburg*, *Elbing*, and *Tolk-mith*,



*mith*, likewise continued in the Possession of *Poland*. *Casimir* restored to the Knights, the Remainder of his Conquests in *Prussia*, and it was agreed, that the Grand Master should always have a Seat, in the Senate of *Poland*, and that he should come Six Months after his Election, to take an Oath of Fidelity, and render Homage to the King, for *Prussia*. Such was the Conclusion of this War, which had filled the *North* with Horror and Desolation, for the Space of almost Two Centuries.

After the Death of the famous *George Pofdziebracki*, King of *Bobemia*, the Barons unanimously elected *Ladislaus*, the eldest Son of *Casimir*, in Opposition to all the Intrigues of *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*. The young Prince immediately set out, to receive the Homage of his Subjects, and happily arrived at *Prague*, where he was crowned. The Efforts of his Competitor, to oppose him in his Passage, were all ineffectual, and *Matthias*, who, in order to place a new Crown on his Head, had exhausted *Hungary* of its Troops, and left it exposed to the Invasions of the *Turks*, was on the point of being render'd the Dupe to his own Ambition. The *Hungarians*, who were dissatisfied with his Government, assembled on a sudden; upon which they deposed him, and made a Tender of the Crown to *Casimir*, the second Son of the King of *Poland*. *Matthias*, at the first Intelligence of these unpleasing Events, quitted *Bobemia*, assembled a great Army of *Moravians*, and left nothing unattempted to regain the Affection and Confidence of his People. *Casimir* arrived too late, and was abandon'd with as little Hesitation as he had been elected.

All these foreign Expeditions were very expensive to *Poland*, the People were loaded with  
such

such Taxations as were before unknown; the Number of Gentlemen was considerably diminished, by so many Battles, and different Expeditions, in Consequence of which, *Casimir* died but little lamented by his Subjects.



THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND.

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BOOK IV.

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1492.

WHEN the Ceremonials of the late King's Funeral were over, the general Diet of Election assembled at *Piotzkrow*; but full of Tumult and Factions, as are usual, when a Nation happens to be divided into Two Parties equally potent. The Grand Marshal of the Crown favoured *Sigismund*, one of the Sons of *Casimir*: *Sbigna*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, had secretly promised his Vote to the Duke of *Mazovia*; but this Prince conducted himself too haughtily on that Occasion, and it was thought that he would seize by

by Violence a Donation that depended on the free Will of the *Poles*, his Deportment, therefore, was the Cause of his Exclusion, and *John Albert*, who was but the third Son of *Casimir*, and who was never thought of at first, was unanimously elected and acknowledged.

His Election was hardly over, before the *Venetians*, on one Side, dispatched a splendid Embassy to compliment him on his Accession to the Crown, and to engage him in a League against the common Enemy of Christendom, the *Turks*, who, on the other Side, being apprehensive of an Attack from too many Enemies at once, sent Presents to the new King, and proposed a Truce for some Years. *Albert* did not think it expedient to declare himself at the Commencement of his Reign, on an Article of that Importance, and did not come to any Resolution till the succeeding Year.

War was then determined upon, in a Conference at *Livocz*, between *Albert*, and his Brother *Ladislaus*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*. This Expedition was undertaken from a secret Motive to avenge their Uncle *Ladislaus*, who lost his Life in the Battle of *Varnes*, but they concealed their Design for some Time, with a Resolution to declare themselves at the first favourable Conjunction.

*Stephen*, Vaivode of *Moldavia*, and a Vassal of *Poland*, soon furnished them with the Opportunity they desired. He came to implore the Assistance of his Lord, the King of *Poland*, against the *Turks*, who ravaged his Province, and the Two Princes thought that Pretext sufficient to authorize a War against that formidable Enemy



to Christianity. *Albert* advanced towards *Walachia*, with an Army of Eighty Thousand Men, and Thirty Thousand Waggons, loaded with Arms and Baggage. The *Vaivode* had engaged to furnish the *Poles* with Provision and Forage, but whether it was, that he made a private Agreement with the *Turks*, or that he intended to render his Perfidy meritorious to the *Sultan*, this Prince was unpunctual to his Promise, and abandoned the Army in the utmost Extremity. The exasperated *Poles* turned those Forces against him, which were intended for the Humiliation of the *Turk*, and they besieged the City of *Soczawa*, the Capital of *Moldavia*. They were even preparing to force the Place, and punish the *Walachian* for his Crime, when *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, concerted Measures for an Accommodation, which was accepted by the *Vaivode*, with no other View, than to deceive the *Poles* anew. The Treaty, being therefore concluded, the King, finding his Troops fatigued, and being likewise indisposed himself, took the Rout to *Poland*, without the least Suspicion of Treachery; but as soon as the Army had advanced into the Forest of *Bukow*, the *Vaivode*, who was there posted in Ambuscade, attacked them on all Sides; threw the Troops into Disorder; carried off a great Number of Prisoners, among whom were several Dukes, and Palatinates; and would have taken the King himself, if a large Body of his best Troops, had not performed Prodigies of Valour, in his Defence; and when the *Polish* Forces had disengaged themselves from that unfavourable Situation, they were again attacked on the Banks of the *Pruth*: But as the *Walachians* were then no longer in their Forests, the *Poles* defeated those

those infamous Foes, and punished them for their Perfidy.

The *Turks*, some Years after this Event, having made an Irruption into *Russia*, *Albert* marched against them and defeated their Troops, tho' they were much more numerous than his own, and Forty Thousand of the Infidels were slain in the Field of Battle. The *Polish* Soldiers afterwards found several of the Enemies wounded Men, who had concealed themselves in the Bellies of their Horses, and were then dead. The shatter'd Remains of the *Ottoman* Army fled into *Moldavia*, to the Vaivode *Stephen*; but as the *Turks*, when they were pursued by their Conquerors, had quitted their Turbans for *Polish* Habits, their Ally himself was deceived by this Disguise, and attacked them with a Body of Troops, who slew above Ten Thousand of the Infidels. 1498.

This fortunate Event happen'd a few Years before the Death of the King, who was taken off by an Apoplectic Fit, in the Forty first Year of his Age, and after he had reigned Twelve Years and Eight Months. 1501.

The Choice of a Successor was attended with great Contests. The Diet was held at *Pietzkow*, where Three Competitors, who had equal Pretensions to the Throne, made their Appearance. *Ladislaus*, King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and eldest Son of the late King *Casimir*, magnified his Power, his Riches, and his Age; together with the Advantages the *Poles* would derive from the Union of the Forces of Two such neighbouring Kingdoms. He had likewise a great Number of the Nobility, whom he had gain'd over to his Interest by Liberalities. *Sigismund* Duke

of *Glogaw* had the Affection of the People, whom his Merit and Virtues had engaged in his Interest; but *Alexander*, the third Son of *Casimir*, was, after several long Conferences, preferred before his Two Brothers. As he was Great Duke of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* were apprehensive that he would vacate the Treaties made by *Jagellon*, if they did not place him on the Throne. In this Manner did the Interest of the Republic, which discover'd such great Advantages in the Union of the Two States, prevail over all other Considerations, and *Alexander* was declared the Successor to his Brother.

The Reign of this Prince was render'd memorable by a Victory obtain'd over the *Tartars*. *Alexander* was indisposed when these *Barbarians* made an Irruption into *Lithuania*; but he caused himself to be carried in a Litter, at the Head of his Army, and advanced against his Enemies; and when the Two Armies were on the Point of engaging, the Palatine of *Posuania*, who arrived from *Vilna*, appear'd on the Top of a Hill, with Three Hundred Men, who attended him as a Guard, and in order to make them appear more numerous, he disposed them into one Line in Front. The *Tartars*, who imagined a new Body of Troops were advancing to the Assistance of the *Lithuanians*, were immediately struck with Consternation. General *Stanislaus Kiska*, immediately improved this Circumstance by a sudden Attack upon the Enemy, over whom he gain'd a compleat Victory. The King, who was seized with the Agonies of Death when he received the News of this fortunate Event, collected all the Remainders of his Strength, in order to render his Acknowledgements to the Deity, and  
as

as he was then deprived of his Speech, he expressed by Motions, his Gratitude to Heaven, and his Joy for the Defeat of his People's Enemies. He died the next Moment, at the Age of Forty Five Years, having reigned Fourteen Years in *Lithuania*, and Five in *Poland*.

His Successor *Sigismund* I. employed the first Years of his Reign, in reforming those Abuses which had crept into the Administration of publick Affairs. The richest Domains of the Crown were mortgaged, and the Treasury was exhausted by immense Pensions. *Sigismund*, by the Aid of *John Bonner*, a Minister whose Disinterestedness was equal to his Abilities, rectified these Disorders, and when he had modelled the Government of the interior Parts of the Kingdom into a better Form, his next Care was to extend his Limits, and make himself respected by his Neighbours.

*Basilus*, Czar or Grand Duke of *Muscovy*, having made an Irruption upon the Frontiers of *Poland*, with an Army of Eighty Thousand Horse, was pursued by *Sigismund* in his Retreat; The Two Armies confronted each other, when the *Muscovites*, who were seized with a Panic at the Sight of the *Polish* Battalions, who were armed with a Forest of Lances, had recourse to an ignominious Flight, without once daring to engage, and they left all their Booty and Baggage behind them. The *Walachians* enter'd black *Russia*, about the same Time; surpris'd *Leopold* the Capital of that Province, and spread the Devastations of Fire and Sword wherever they came: But the *Poles* soon made cruel Reprisals in *Walachia*. The *Vaivode* and his Troops, who were habituated to Inroads and Depredations, were



incapable of maintaining their Ground, before an Army of Troops who observed all the Rules of military Discipline; and they flunk into the Wilds of their Forests. The Cities of *Doricbim*, *Sczepanowits*, *Czarnowicz*, and *Chezim*, were taken by Storm, and sacked by the *Poles*, who retired with immense Spoils: The *Walachians* attacked them in their Return, at the Pass of the *Niester*, but were repulsed with Loss.

1534.

The War against the *Muscovites* still continued, tho' its Operations were not attended with Vigor, and no memorable Action was performed for several Years. When ever that People presumed to pass the Boundaries which separated the Two Dominions, the Appearance of the *Poles*, and the Terrors of their Arms, were sufficient to disperse their Enemies. During these Transactions, a *Muscovite* Officer surpris'd *Smolensko* on the Frontiers of *Lithuania*, and the Czar, in order to preserve his Conquest, marched thither with a great Body of Horse. *Sigismund* opposed him with no more than Thirty Thousand *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, and the *Muscovite* Forces retired, at the first Appearance of these Troops, and shelter'd themselves on the opposite Bank of the *Boristhenes*, whose Rapidity and steep Shoar seem'd a sufficient Security to them. But *Constantine Ostrouki*, who commanded the *Polish* Troops, soon surmounted these Obstacles, and threw a Bridge, with great Expedition, over the River, above the Castle of *Orsha*, and while the Infantry marched over it, the Cavalry swam cross that deep River in the View of the *Muscovites*. The *Poles* intrenched themselves on the Shore, where they rested themselves for some Hours, and then marched as to a Victory that was infallible. The  
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*Lithuanians* began the Action, and then retreated by Degrees, to draw on the *Muscovites* within Cannon Shot, and those *Barbarians*, who fought without the least Art or Regularity, were easily betrayed into the Snare, and mistook this Stratagem for a real Flight. When they had advanced within a proper Distance, the *Lithuanians* open'd their Ranks, to afford a Passage to the Shot, which made a dreadful Havock, and swept away most of the Enemies Squadrons, whose Overthrow was easily compleated by the *Poles*. Those who escaped the Conquerors Sword, betook themselves to Flight, with so much Precipitation and Disorder, that most of them were drowned in passing the River *Cropirna*, which flows into the *Boristhenes* between *Orsha* and *Dulrow*. It was reported for certain, that 42000 *Muscovites* were slain in the Field of Battle, without including those who perished in their Flight: The *Muscovite* General, and Two Noblemen of the first Distinction, were made Prisoners, and this Victory, which cost the *Poles* but Three Hundred Men, diffused the Terror of their Name through all *Muscovy*.

*Basilus* was struck with such a Consternation at the News of this Overthrow, that he retired from *Smolensko*, which was immediately besieged by the *Poles*; but as they were loaded with Spoils, and the numerous Garrison that defended the Place, were in a Condition to draw the Siege into a great Length, the Besiegers contented themselves with forming a Blockade, by disposing their Troops into Three important Posts, adjacent to the City, and then they retired.

During these Transactions, *Albert* Marquiss of *Brandenburg*, and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order

1520.

Order, refused to pay to King *Sigismund* the Fealty and Homage he owed him for the Province of *Prussia*, and commenced a War by attacking the Fortrefs of *Brauntberg*, which he carried by Assault: But the King having raised a numerous Army, marched against the Rebel, and made himself Master of *Mielfac*, and the Citadel of *Holland*, and then, making the best Improvement of these Advantages, he penetrated farther into the Territories of the Grand Master, and sacked several Cities in *Brandenburg*.

*Albert*, being thus vigorously pressed, was preparing to sue for Peace, when *Wolfgang*, Duke of *Schonenburg*, came to his Assistance, with an Army of 14000 *Germans*. This General besieged *Dantzic*, and ravaged the adjacent Country, but the Artillery of the Place was so well employed, and the Inhabitants made such a gallant Defence, that they were in no need of Succours to repel the Enemy who besieged them. The Cannon of the Town thunder'd upon their Camp, and they were soon destitute of Provisions, in a Country which they themselves had laid desolate: and as several epidemic Distempers raged among their Troops, they were compelled to raise the Siege in an ignominious Manner. Twelve Thousand *Polish* Horse fell upon them in their Retreat, and destroyed a great Number of their Men; the rest were slaughter'd by the Peasants of *Pomerania*, where the Remains of this unfortunate Army had retired for Refuge.

This Victory was succeeded by the Surrender of *Dirschaw*, *Stargard*, and the Castle of *Choincz*; so that *Albert*, who was now destitute of all Resources, was constrain'd to resign himself to the Clemency of his Conqueror.

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The Doctrines of *Luther* had already made a great Progress in *Germany*, under the Protection of the Dukes of *Saxony*; and the Marquiss of *Brandenburg* having embraced them, after the Example of several neighbouring Princes, entirely quitted the Religion in which he had been educated. He likewise enter'd into a Treaty with *Sigismund*, in Consequence of which, he abandon'd the Interest of the Teutonic Order, whose first Station he had possessed, and it was stipulated, that he should Share *Prussia* with the King; and that the Marquiss, in the Quality of a secular Duke, should hold as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, that Part of the Province which had been allotted him. Thus was *Prussia* wrested from the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who had enjoyed it for the Space of Three Centuries. This Treaty was, in Reality, very advantageous to the Republic, and for ever extinguished those Flames of War which she had Reason to apprehend from her ambitious Neighbours; but it was also as fatal to the *Romish* Religion, and open'd a Door to *Lutheranism* which diffused it self from *Prussia* to *Poland*.

Some Years after this Event, *Peter*, or *Petril-lon*, Vaivode of *Walachia*, advanced into the small Province of *Pokutia*, where he burnt *Sni-atyn*. Count *Tarno*, at the News of this Irruption, marched against the *Walachian* Prince, with a Body of 6000 Men, and fortified himself in the Town of *Oberstin*; and tho' the Enemy, to the Number of 50000 Men, possessed the neighbouring Heights, he yet had the Bravery to engage them; but, instead of attacking them in Front, he fell upon their Flank, whilst several Pieces of Cannon play'd upon the first Lines of their Army: And the Fire was so violent, that  
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the Main Body of their Army was forced upon the Wings: This Movement created a general Confusion, in Consequence of which they were entirely defeated, and the Vaivode, who was dangerously wounded, saved himself with great Difficulty.

After the Death of *Basilius*, Grand Duke of *Muscovy*, *Ouczina*, who was constituted Regent of that Duchy, during the Minority of the young Czar, made several Inrodes into *Lithuania*, and penetrated into the Country adjacent to *Vilna*; but the brave Count *Tarno*, who had so lately signalized his Valour by defeating the *Walachians*, placed himself at the Head of the *Lithuanian* and *Polish* Troops, and soon dispersed the Enemy: But, as he thought this Advantage not sufficient; he enter'd *Muscovy*, in his Turn; took the Castle of *Hemell*, and placed a strong Garrison there. He then besieged *Strarodub*, where the Tutor of the young Duke, had shut himself up with several of the principal Noblemen of *Russia*. The Troops of the Garrison, who were commanded and animated by the bravest Men in *Muscovy*, defended themselves in a gallant Manner. The *Polish* Artillery made but little Impressions on the Walls of the Place, which were built with Beams riveted together, and supported by a Bulwark of Earth; but a certain Engineer having directed the Troops to fire those Palisades with Pitch and Cannon Powder, the Flame, augmented by the Wind, became immediately so violent, that the Fortifications were soon reduced to Ashes. The Fire was likewise communicated to the City it self, which compelled the Regent of *Muscovy*, and the Lords who accompanied her, to surrender, in order to escape the Flames. The *Poles* carried off Sixty Thousand Prisoners of all Ages, and Ranks, together with an immense Booty.

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The Affairs of the *Muscovites* are so interwoven with the History of *Poland*, that it will not be improper to give some Account, of the Country it self, and the Strength of that Nation.

*Muscovy* has the frozen Sea for its Northern Limit; the River *Oby* divides it from Grand *Tartary*, to the East; and it is bounded, on the West, by *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and the Territories of the King of *Sweden*. Its Breadth is almost equal to its Length, and the whole comprehends an Extent of Six Hundred Leagues. This vast Country is watered, first by the *Volga*, which flows through the Kingdoms of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*, and then discharges it self into the *Caspian* Sea; secondly, by the *Dwina*, which falls into the white Sea, near *Archangel*; thirdly, by the *Oby*, which takes its Course from Grand *Tartary*, and disgorges its Waters into the frozen Sea of *Nova Zembla*; fourthly, by the *Boristhenes*, or *Nieper*, which has been render'd so famous, by the Isles inhabited by the *Cossagues*, and lastly, by the *Don*, which loses it self in the black Sea, near the *Palus Mæotis*.

It is not easy to determine the Number of Provinces in *Muscovy*. *Muscovy*, properly so called, and in which the Capital is situated; *Siberia*; *Lubomiria*; *Rezan* and *Laponia*, are the most famous of all. *Moscow*, which receives its Name from the River on which it is seated; *Wolodomir*, *Novogrod*, and *Archangel*, are its finest Cities. The Czar *Peter* lately built a new one on the *Baltic* Sea, which he distinguished by the Name of *Petersburg*.

The Prince exercises a despotic Power over his People, who are rather Slaves than Subjects. An Opinion, render'd venerable by Antiquity, in Conjunction with the Prejudices of Education, has impressed the Hearts of the *Muscovites* with  
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a servile Respect, and a blind Obedience to their Czar, and they perhaps consider him with more Veneration than they offer to the Deity himself. The established Religion is formed out of the Doctrines of the *Greek Church*, tho' blended with a Variety of Superstitions. Several of their Provinces are inhabited by Idolaters, who bear the Name of Christians, tho' they have no Knowledge of the Saviour of the World. St. *Nicholas* is the Protector of *Russia*, which renders him Honours that are almost divine.

There are but Two Archbishops in *Muscovy*, one of whom is the Patriarch and Metropolitan of those vast Dominions. The Number of Bishops is likewise very inconsiderable. They are habited in a Cassock of black Silk, over which is thrown a Mantle, adorned with Three white Fringes. They are generally taken out of Monasteries, where the most austere Regulations are observed.

With Respect to the Manners of this Nation, the *Muscovites* are a superstitious, illiterate and brutal People; servilely bending under the Yoke of their Prince, and not daring to quit their Country without his Permission. They are but little acquainted with the polite Arts, and as they never travel into other Countries, their vast Forests, cover'd with eternal Snow, seem a delightful Region to them. They formerly were prohibited the Use of Wine, but their chief Festivals, and particularly that of their Patron St. *Nicholas*, were exempted from that Restriction, and for that Reason, were generally signalized by some drunken Massacre. Their Courage is far from being extraordinary, and their Victories are only owing to Numbers. They are abject Enemies; and untractable Conquerors; they bow  
down

down at the least Resistance, and use their Advantages like real *Barbarians*. Their Cities are all fortified, and a Battery of Four Pieces of Cannon, would lay their strongest Ramparts in Ruins. The Czar *Peter* has polished their Manners in some Measure, and, in order to introduce the Arts among them, he came to cultivate an Acquaintance with them in *Holland, England and France*.

They had formerly a great Number of Princes, and were, in a Manner, Slaves to the Cham of those *Tartars* who inhabit the Country beyond the *Volga*, but one of their Dukes shook off that Yoke, at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century; he likewise conquered *Novogrod* and *Moscow*, and laid the Foundations of the vast Empire of *Russia*.

The Reign of *Sigismund I.* was a continual Scene of Conquests and Prosperity to Poland. This Prince, when he had repressed the Insolence of the Enemies to that State, and had afterwards caused his People to enjoy the Fruits of a long and happy Peace; died at the Age of Eighty Four, and after a Reign of Forty Two Years. His Epitaph, which is in the Royal Chapel of the Church of *Cracow*, contains his Panegyric, in the following Strain.

*Divus Sigismundus Jagellonius, Poloniæ Rex, & Lithuanie Dux Magnus, Scithicus, Valachius, Moschoviticus, Prussicus, Victor ac Triumphator, Pater Patriæ, in hoc Monumentum, a se magnificentissime erectum, illatus requiescit.*

*Sigismund II.* surnamed *Augustus*, was elected and crowned in the Life Time of his Father: He was therefore acknowledged without any Difficulty, and Poland was not then the Spectator of those

1548.  
The Death  
of Sigismund

*Sigismund II.*

those Troubles which are usually created upon the Death of her Kings.

While Religion armed the Nations of Europe against each other, *Poland* alone enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, under the wise Government of *Sigismund*. *Germany* was the Theatre of a most destructive War, and Streams of Christian Blood flow'd from all Quarters. *England* was in as much Confusion in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* but *France* was a Scene of universal Horror. *Bohemia* and *Austria* sustain'd the same Agitations; in a Word, all *Europe* was consumed by a furious Zeal, that breathed nothing but Havock and Slaughter. *Sigismund* alone had the Ability to preserve his Dominions from these fatal Disorders. He was attached to the Traditions of his Ancestors, and conducted himself with a respectful Regard to the holy See. He would not suffer his People to have any Intercourse with those Divines, whose Orthodoxy was suspected, and left nothing unattempted to render his Kingdom inaccessible to those Doctrines which had been diffused through Part of *Germany*; but all his Zeal never tempted him to maintain Religion in his Dominions, by Persecution and the Sword; and a System of regular Politics, and salutary Instructions, were all the Arms he employed against the new Sectaries.

He improved the Continuance of a long Peace, in the Reformation of those Abuses as had gradually been intermixed with the Government, and in cultivating an Obedience to the Laws and Customs of the Crown, and he was sedulous in a peculiar Manner, to recover the royal Domains, which had either been usurped, or unjustly alienated from the Crown. But this last Proceeding was not injurious to any who had a proper Title

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to those Possessions, but was rather productive of great Advantages to the Public. These Funds afforded an annual Revenue for the Payment of the Army; and the Satisfaction of the necessary Demands of the State. But his chief Attention was devoted to the Union of *Lithuania*, with the Kingdom of *Poland*. *Jagellon* had formed the first Plan of this Affair, *Casimir* his Grandfather had approved it: His Unkles *John Albert*, and *Alexander*; and *Sigismond* his Father had promised to accomplish it. *Sigismond Augustus* was desirous of acting with Punctuality, to the Engagements of his Predecessors, in Consequence of which Design, he cemented that happy Alliance of the Two States, and render'd it indissoluble.

Tho' he preferred the certain Fruits of a happy Peace, to the Hazards of War, yet when ever it became necessary to support the Rights of his Kingdom, or to repress the Insolence of his Enemies, he made it evident, that he had the Abilities of a Warrior, and that he wanted neither Courage nor Power. The Archbishop of *Riga*, his Relation, groan'd under the Tyranny of *William of Fustemberg*, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, in the Province of *Livonia*.

1557.

This Prelate being exposed to a Thousand Outrages, and even to the utmost Danger of his Life, implored the Aid of his Cousin and Friend, the King of *Poland*; who after he had endeavoured, tho' ineffectually, to mediate an Accommodation, enter'd *Livonia*, at the Head of an Hundred Thousand Men. Every Place submitted to so formidable a Power, and the Grand Master, not daring to hazard a Battle, sued for Peace, and at last obtained it upon severe Terms.

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He was obliged to render Homage to the King of *Poland*, as a Vassal to the Crown; he was likewise to discharge the Expences of the War, and to make Restitution to the Archbishop, for all the Losses he had sustained.

That Branch of the Teutonic Order, in whom the Sovereignty of *Livonia* was vested, did not spring from the same Original as the Knights of *Prussia*. In the Year 1200, *Meinbard*, a Native of *Lubec*, preached the Gospel to the *Livonians*, and was consecrated Bishop of their Country, by the Archbishop of *Bremen*. Christianity made a great Progress at first, and several Lords were baptized by *Meinbard*, but under *Beatbold* his Successor, a cruel Persecution was raised against the Christians, whose Conduct might perhaps be contrary to the Maxims of the Gospel, when they took up Arms against the Infidels. This War gave Birth to an Order which assumed the Name of *Knights of the short Sword*. The Body of this new Militia increased in a short Time, and caused the Territories they had conquered from the Infidels, to be adjudged to them. But as they grew too weak to be able to support themselves alone, they were incorporated into the Order of the *Prussian* Knights of the Cross, tho' they had their own Grand Masters, and Commanders.

The Order of *Livonia* had scarce placed it self under the Protection of the King, before the Czar entered that Province, and took the City of *Derpt*, which occasioned the cruel War, with which *Poland* and *Muscovy* were so long harrassed.

*Sigismund* opposed the Czar's Invasion, and insisted on his Restitution of the Place he had lately seized, with a Denunciation of War against him, in Case of a Refusal. *John Basilides* would not vouchsafe any Answer to the *Polish* Ambassadors,

dors, and they had no sooner quitted his Dominions, than he entered *Lithuania* with an Army of 300000 Men. *Polocz* was incapable of resisting these numerous Troops, and the City of *Derpt* was carried by Assault and sacked. The *Muscovites* took 80000 Prisoners, amongst whom were a great Number of *Jews*, who, after an obstinate Refusal to submit to Baptism, were drowned in the River *Dzwina*, the Ice of which was broken for this cruel Purpose; but a Body of 1500 *Poles*, defeated, in the next Campaign, an Army of 40000 *Russians*, of whom they slew 15000 upon the Spot, and dispersed the rest.

An Accommodation was, however, proposed, and *Sigismund* dispatched an Embassy into *Muscovy*, but *John Basilides* acted an insincere Part, by amusing the *Polish* Ministers, with various Pretexes, and he broke off the Conference as soon as his Troops were in a Condition to take the Field. The *Russian* Army was divided into Two Bodies; one of which marched towards *Smolensko*, under the Conduct of General *Srebny*, and the other, which was commanded by *Peter Swiski*, advanced farther, and encamped in the Plains of *Czafnitz* near the River *Usla*. *Nicholas Radzivil* Palatine of *Vilna*, General of the *Lithuanian* Troops, and *Gregory Chodkievicz*, Marshal of the Camp, having received Intelligence, by Spies, that the *Russians* did not keep any strict Guard in their Camp, attacked them on a sudden. The Confusion created by this Surprise, in Conjunction with the Ardour of the Assailants, render'd the *Muscovites* incapable of defending themselves, and they were forced in their Intrenchments before they could Arm for the Engagement. Thirty Thousand Men fell beneath the Sword of the Conqueror; the rest had Recourse to Flight, and were either drown-

ed in the adjacent Marshes, or slaughter'd by the Peasants, who did not spare even the General himself, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. The other *Russian* Troops, who were posted near *Orsha*, having received Intelligence of the Defeat of their Companions, immediately quitted *Lithuania*, with so much Terror and Precipitation, that they left their Baggage with all their military Equipage, in their Camp.

The same Year was likewise rendered remarkable by a Victory, which *Stanislaus Pacz*, Palatine of *Witepsk*, obtain'd over 30000 *Muscovites*, who besieged the Castle of *Jezerisk*. *Pacz* had only 3000 Men, whom he consigned to the Command of the Standard-bearer of his Palatinate, and of *John Swiporod*; and these Two Officers made such a vigorous Attack upon the Lines of the Besiegers, that they entirely forced them, after an Engagement in which the Enemy lost Eight Thousand Men.

This War continued for some Years, with almost an equality of Advantage on each Side; and if the *Muscovites* were compelled to withdraw into their own Country after a Defeat, they soon returned with a greater Body of Troops, whose Number made them a Compensation for their Losses. In vain were they conquered, near the Lake of *Sitno*, and afterwards near the Fortrefs of *Vielijs*: for they soon retook the Field with new Troops, and continued their Devastations.

1568.

*Sigismund*, in order to check these cruel Ravages, resolved to Attack these Destroyers in their own Country, and to carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of *Muscovy*, with an Army of 100000 Men, but he was unsuccessful in his Expedition. The *Muscovites* had learned the Art of War, by their frequent Defeats, and became,  
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at least, capable of making a Resistance. The *Poles* besieged the Fortress of *Ula* to no Effect; for the *Russians* threw in a Body of Succours, and *Sigismond* was obliged to raise the Siege. Some short Time after which, *Romain Sangusko*, Grand Marshal of *Lithuania*, obliterated this Affront by the bloody Defeat of the *Russian* Army. He even surprised *Ula*, where *Sigismond* had been unsuccessful, after which he burnt the Place, and cut the Garrison to Pieces.

The Two Nations being equally fatigued with the War, agreed to a Truce for Three Years, during which Interval, *Sigismond Augustus* died at *Chinitz* in *Lithuania*, from whence his Body was afterwards conveyed to *Cracow*, and deposited by that of his Father.

This wise and gentle Prince would never permit the Sword to be drawn against those of his Subjects who adhered to the new Opinions. *Rome* blamed him for this Moderation, and imputed it to him as a Crime. He had always an Inclination to Peace, when he conceived it to be advantageous to his People, over whom God had placed him; but he always had Recourse to War, when he found it necessary: And the Welfare of the Public was the constant Motive to his Conduct in each of these Conjunctions. Towards the Close of his Life, he indulged himself with a Mistress, who had an absolute Disposal of all his Favours, and the Excesses he committed in his Intercourse with her, in Conjunction with his Age and Infirmities, hasten'd his Death. As he left no Issue, the Male Line of the *Jagellons*, who had reigned about Two Hundred Years in *Poland*, namely, from the Year 1386, became extinct by his Death, which likewise caused an Interregnum, and gave Birth to all those Intrigues we are preparing to relate.



When the several lesser Diets, as well of the Kingdom of *Poland*, as of the Great Duchy of *Lithuania*, were over, the *Nuncio's* assembled at the general Diet, which was summon'd to be held at *Warsaw*. The Pope dispatched a Legate thither, to exhort the *Poles* to elect a Catholic Prince, and to oppose the Measures the Protestants might happen to take, during the Interregnum; but notwithstanding the Remonstrances of this Apostolic Minister, they enter'd into a Confederacy with the Evangelics, and in order to the Preservation of Peace, it was mutually agreed between them, that no difference in religious Opinions should create any Division between the Subjects of the same Kingdom, and that all the *Poles* should be capable of public Offices, without any Discrimination; and it was even agreed, that it would be necessary to oblige the future King to swear expressly, that he would cultivate a Peace between his Subjects, of different Persuasions; and *Henry of Valois*, and *Stephen Battori*, were compelled to the Observation of this new Law.

*Ernestus of Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*; the King of *Sweden*, and his Son the Duke of *Prussia*; the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Marquiss of *Anspach*, declared themselves Candidates, and dispatched their Ambassadors to the Diet. The Arch-Duke of *Austria* soon supplanted all those of the Competitors, who were suspected of *Lutheranism*, and would have obtain'd the Crown, amidst the first Proceedings of the Diet, if the *Poles* could have imagined him worthy to wear it; but their Esteem for this Prince was so inconsiderable, that they gave the Preference to *William of Rosemberg*, his Ambassador; and if this Minister had been Master of Courage enough to accept their Offers, he might have

have acquired all the Suffrages he came to sollicite for his Sovereign.

*Ernestus of Austria*, being supported by the Legate's Faction, would have been elected at last, for want of other Candidates, if Chance had not presented a Competitor, who had never appeared till then, and was even unknown to the *Poles*.

*John Crasofski*, a *Polish* Gentleman of great Abilities, but very small of Stature, had made a Tour to the Court of *France*, where he had been well received, and had render'd himself universally agreeable. The good Graces of *Queen Catherine of Medicis*, which he had the Dexterity to acquire, procured him very considerable Advantages; and when he had obtain'd an ample Fortune, he had an Inclination to re-visit his own Country. *Sigismund Augustus* was not dead, when this Gentleman arrived; and all the *Polish* Lords, who had but little Knowledge of the Court of *France*, were curious to converse with him upon that Subject, and he charmed them with the Relations he gave them. He described the Magnificence and Pleasures of that shining Court, and above all Things, enhanced the Merit of the Duke of *Anjou*, to whom he had a Number of peculiar Obligations. He is, said this Gentleman, an accomplished Prince, and a young Hero, who has already gained several Battles, and whom Fortune has never abandoned on any Occasion. The *Polish* Lords immediately conceived a high Idea of this Prince, and had an Inclination, upon the Death of *Sigismund*, to make him a Tender of the Crown. *Crasofski* confirmed them in these Sentiments, and returned to *France*, by their Order, to acquaint the King and Queen, that the Duke of *Anjou* would be elected, if Ambassadors were sent to *Poland*, from *France*. In this Manner was a meer Dwarf entrusted with the most

important Negotiation. *Charles IX.* had no Affection for his Brother, and as he was jealous of his Reputation, and likewise of the Tenderneſs of the Queen-Mother for that Prince, he was deſirous of having him at a Diſtance from himſelf. The Pretext was now too plauſible, to be neglected, and when the Dwarf informed the King of the Diſpoſitions entertained by the *Polish* Nobility in that Prince's Favour, *Charles* did not hesitate a Moment, but ſent to *Poland*, *John de Montluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, *Gille de Noailles*, Abbe of *Liſle*, and *Guy de St. Gelais de Lanſar*, in the Quality of Embaſſadors extraordinary. The Eloquence and Obſequiouſneſs of *Montluc*; the Sums he diſtributed, and the Profuſion of his Promiſes, operating in Conjunction with the *Polish* Aversion to a *German* Prince, and the late Example of *Bobemia*, whom the Houſe of *Austria* had reſolved to divest of her Liberty, influenced the Minds of the Electors ſo effectually, that they all voted in Favour of *Henry of Valois*.

The *French* Miniſters were obliged to take an Oath, that their Maſter ſhould maintain the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*; after which *Henry* was elected, and proclaimed King, by the Palatine of *Cracow*, and *Kodkieviczki*, Grand General of *Lithuania*. The Act of Election was then prepared, and depoſited in the Hands of the Ambaſſadors who were choſen to wait on the new King in *France*. They were Twelve in Number, and their Chief was *Adam Conarſki* Biſhop of *Poſnan*, and their Train was compoſed of Two Hundred Gentlemen. Their Reception at *Paris* was very magnificent, and the Court omitted nothing that could properly ſupport the Idea that had been formed in *Poland*, of the Grandeur and Riches of *France*. *Henry*, at  
that

that Time, besieged *Rochell*, which was the strongest Bulwark the *Hugonots* possessed, and they defended it with so much Bravery, that this Prince was happy in being presented with so honourable a Pretext, for raising the Siege, without any Diminution of his Glory. He therefore departed, at the repeated Instances of the *Polish* Ambassadors, and by the Orders of his Brother; but he quitted *France* with Regret, and, possibly, with an Intention to return thither in a short Time.

The Queen-Mother attended him as far as *Lorrain*, after which he passed through *Germany*, and was complimented at *Heidelberg*, by *Christopher*, Son of the Elector Palatine, who received him in a Manner truly magnificent, and, at the same Time created him no little Mortification, by consigning to him an Apartment, in which were several Pictures, that represented the dreadful Massacre at *Paris*, on the Night after *St. Bartholomew's* Day, and which was perpetrated by the Counsel and Orders of *Henry* himself. The *Poles* received him on their Frontiers, and conducted him to *Cracow*, where he was crowned some Days after.

*Henry* was well shaped, his Air was majestic, and he was then in the amiable Flower of his Youth. He expressed himself with a graceful Ease; Eloquence was his natural Accomplishment, and he understood *Latin* as well as *French*. He was magnificent, in those Ceremonies wherein it was necessary to support the Royal Majesty in its due Lustre. He was always liberal, and sometimes to an Excess, and his Affability and Politeness were extraordinary: In a Word, he soon won all the Hearts of the *Poles*, who hoped that so shining an Exterior, presaged a most happy Reign: But *Henry* of *Valois*, was hardly upon the Throne of *Poland*, before *Charles* his Brother di-



ed without Male Issue. The Queen immediately dispatched to him several Courriers, one after another, to urge his Return into *France*, where his Presence was necessary, but as he was apprehensive, that the *Poles* would oppose his Departure, and detain him against his Will, he concealed his Design from them, and stole out of his Palace, by Night, in Disguise, in order to ride Post to *Vienna* in *Austria*, and from thence to *France*, by the Way of *Italy*. The *Poles*, who were apprehensive of his Escape, immediately perceived it, and sent after him. *John Zamofski* overtook him some Leagues from *Cracow*, and had Recourse, tho' in vain, to the humblest Prayers, and even to Tears, to prevail upon him to return.

The People grew desperate at the News of the King's Departure, and if the Magistrate of *Cracow* had not posted Guards in the Streets, to repress them, the *French*, who were then in the City, and were look'd upon as so many perfidious Persons, would have been massacred. *Pibrac*, who had followed the King in his Flight, and afterwards struck out of the right Road, wou'd not have escaped the Fury of the Peasants who pursued him, if he had not concealed himself in a Marsh, where he was detained a long Time by his Fears, and till he was on the very Point of perishing by Cold.

*Charles* of *Danzai*, whom *Henry* had left in *Poland*, to make his Excuses to the Republic, for so precipitate a Departure, unfolded the Motives of his Master, with great Eloquence, in a full Senate: *Henry* likewise wrote to the chief of the Nobility, on the same Subject, but all this did not satisfy the *Poles*, who thought themselves despised, and they reproached the Prince for his clandestine Retreat, and his Indifference for a People who had testified so much Esteem for him.

*Henry,*

*Henry*, when he left *Poland*, imagined that he was quitting a barbarous Country, to take Possession of a Kingdom abounding with Pleasures: but he was deceived in his Expectations; for his Reign, was only a melancholy Series of Calamities, and intestine Wars, and it closed with the Assassination of that Prince.

The *Poles*, being thus abandoned by their Sovereign, acquainted him by Letters, that the Necessities of the State, and the Dangers which threaten'd the Republic, prevailed over the usual Attachment of that Nation to its Princes, and that if he did not return to *Poland*, they would immediately proceed to a new Election, to which however, they should have no Inclination, till he had informed them whether he would resume the Reins of Government. *Henry*, tho' he had no Intention to quit *France*, to return to *Poland*, wrote an Answer to those Letters, and declared, that the Wars in which he was then engaged, prevented his speedy Return, but that he would send to *Poland* such Ministers whose Abilities would supply his own Absence, and he accordingly dispatched *Guy de Pibrac* who had much Credit, and many Friends in that Kingdom, and was perfectly acquainted with the Genius of the Nation.

1575.

*Poland* was, at that Time, divided into Two Factions, which, tho' they opposed each other in their Choice of the Candidates, were unanimous, with Respect to the Deposition of *Henry*, and the Election of a new King, in Consequence of which, all the Eloquence and Sollicitations of *Pibrac*, were ineffectual, and nothing but meer Decorum induced them to listen to his Remonstrances.

The Emperor *Maximilian* demanded the Crown,  
either

either for himself, or for the Archbishop *Ernestus*, his Son, who had been excluded by the last general Diet. The *Piastes*, on the contrary, that is to say, those who were for the Election of a Prince of their own Nation, opposed the Measures of the House of *Austria*, and their Number being increased by the Conjunction of the *French* Faction, who, finding themselves incapable of preventing the Deposition of *Henry*, united with the *Piastes* against the Imperial Party.

The different Sentiments of the Electors produced a dangerous Schism: The Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and the Majority of the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Senators, elected the Emperor *Maximilian*; and *Zbozowsky*, Palatine of *Cracow*, together with Count *Gorka*, Palatine of *Sandomir*, Count *Tenczin*, and most of the Nobility who favoured the Faction of the *Piastes*, were induced, by their grateful Remembrance of the *Jagellon* Princes, to elect the Princess *Ann*, Sister of *Sigismund Augustus*, and they determined, that she should be espoused by *Stephen Battori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, who accordingly was declared King.

The Partisans of the Emperor, sent an Embassy, at the same Time, to this Prince, with the Act of his Election, and to intreat him to come as soon as possible, to take Possession of the Throne; but whilst he engaged in long Conferences on the Oath which the *Poles* required from him, for the Preservation of their Privileges; *Battori*, who was more expeditious, arrived in *Poland*, and the Princess *Ann*, who conceived a Passion for him, at the first Interview, gain'd a great Number of the Nobility, who had embraced the opposite Party, and the tardy *Maximilian* was almost forgotten. His Competitor espoused the Princess, and was crowned at *Cracow*, by  
*Stanislaus*

*Stanislaus Karnkawski*, Bishop of *Wladislaw*, in the Absence of the Archbishop of *Gnesna*.

In the mean Time, *Maximilian*, who had not abandoned his Claim, was endeavouring to procure Succours from all Quarters, against *Battori*, whom he treated as an Usurper, but Death, which surpris'd him amidst his Preparations for the intended Expedition, extinguish'd all the Apprehensions of a civil War, which would otherwise have been kindled in *Poland*. *Maximilian* died in the Forty ninth Year of his Age, and in the twelfth of his Reign; and all his Party then submitted to *Battori*.

1576.

*Dantzic* had declared for the Emperor, and tho' all the States of the Kingdom had acknowledged his Competitor, this City alone refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to him, on various Pretexes; and the bold Inhabitants had even the Presumption to demand an Oath from the King, for the Confirmation of their Privileges, and for an absolute Liberty of Conscience. *Battori* referred the Examination of their Complaints to the approaching Diet, and order'd them to Discharge the Duties that were incumbent on Subjects. He even came to *Marienburg*, and dispatched *Andrew Zborowsky*, Marshal of the Court, to prevail upon them to plead their Cause before the Senate, but the *Dantzickers* were so far from complying with the wise Remonstrances of that Nobleman, that they even placed Guards at their Gates, as if an Enemy were approaching; they likewise seized the Castle of *Grebin*, and published a Manifesto, that was equally injurious to the Prince and the Republic.

The King was irritated at these Proceedings, and he march'd against the Castle of *Grebin*, which he took, and then ravaged the Lands that be-  
longed



longed to the Town House of *Dantzic*. The Citizens likewise made Reprisals on the Lands of the Bishop of *Wladislaw*, and the Monastery of *Oliva*, which they burnt, lest that important Post should be employed against them.

When they had imperiously rejected the Overtures of an Accommodation, they were declared Rebels, and Enemies to the State, and *John Kborowski* marched against them; but as the Number of his Troops was inconsiderable, the *Dantzickers*, who had been assisted with a Body of German Forces, marched out of the City on *Easter Day*, to make a sudden Attack, but a dreadful Storm, accompanied with Thunder and Lightening, obliged them to return back.

Some Days after this Event, they sailed up the *Vistula*, in their Vessels under the Conduct of *John de Collen*, and advanced to *Warsaw* in order to attack the *Poles*, who defeated and put them to Flight, after a long Engagement. They lost 8000 Men, and several Pieces of Cannon. *Collen*, after this Overthrow, enter'd the City, and was in some Danger of being ill treated by the incensed Populace, but he appeased them, with a Promise of a speedy Vengeance on their Enemies, and that he would defend their City to the last Gasps.

The Czar, taking Advantage of these intestine Wars, caused *Revel* to be besieged, but the Garrison made so brave a Defence, that the *Russians* were compelled to raise the Siege, after several ineffectual Attacks, for the Space of Six Weeks: but tho' their Losses before that Place were very considerable, yet they ravaged all *Livonia*, and took several small Towns, which were sacked with the utmost Inhumanity.

*Battori*, in the mean Time, pressed *Dantzic* in a very vigorous Manner. The Besiegers, in the first

first Sally they made after their Defeat, obtain'd a considerable Advantage over the Assailants, and compelled them to decamp at a greater Distance from the City, but the next Attack proved fatal to them; for tho' the Number of slain was equal on both Sides, yet the *Dantzickers*, having lost the brave *Collen* in the Action, were soon compelled to have Recourse to the Clemency of their Prince, and a Peace was, at last, concluded, by the Mediation of the Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony*, in Conjunction with the Landgrave of *Hesse*; by the Stipulations of which, the *Dantzickers* were to disband their Troops; implore the King's Pardon, and Repair the Damages sustain'd by the Monastery of *Oliva*. The King, on his Part, confirmed all their Privileges, with a Promise to allow them full Liberty of adhering to the Confession of *Ausburg*.

The *Muscovite* was Master of the greatest Part of *Livonia*. *Marienhaus*, *Rossitten*, *Lussen*, *Dunenburg*, and *Kockenhaus* had open'd their Gates to him, and the Czar, who had an Inclination to delude these People, by an Air of Goodness and Clemency, would not permit his Troops to offer the least Insult to the Inhabitants of those Places: But the City of *Ascherod*, where a great Number of the Nobility then resided, had not the same Fate. The *Muscovites* slaughter'd all who were capable of bearing Arms, and abandoned the Women and Children, to the Brutality of the *Tartars*, whom they retained in their Pay. The Citizens of *Wenden*, were struck with such a Consternation at these Barbarities, that they refused to open their Gates to the *Russians* who besieged them, and as this unhappy City was in no Condition of Defence, the Inhabitants chose rather to perish, than surrender themselves to so inhuman a Foe. The Citizens themselves sunk Mines under

der their own Houses, and bravely made them their Graves; The Czar render'd himself Master of the Ruins of *Wenden*, and took *Runneburgh* by Composition, so that all *Livonia*, except *Revel* and *Riga*, groan'd under the Yoke of this dreadful Conqueror.

*Battori*, to revenge these Invasions, and maintain the Glory of the *Polish* Name, convoked a general Diet, which was held at *Warsaw*. The King propos'd a War against the *Muscovites*, and it was unanimously agreed to. *Wenden* and *Dunneburg* had already been surpris'd by the *Poles*, and the Army, which the Czar had sent to retake *Wenden*, was defeated, some Time after, by *Peter Tatow*.

The King, after he had taken proper Measures for the Administration of the Government, in the interior Parts of the Kingdom, assembled Troops from all Quarters, and borrowed great Sums to pay them. *Christopher*, Prince of *Transylvania*, received Orders to join his Majesty with the *Veteran* Troops of that Province, and some Squadrons of Horse. *Rosdrazowsky* was commission'd to make new Levies in *Germany*; the *Hungarians* and *Prussians* likewise increased the *Polish* Army, and the *Lithuanians* furnished a Body of 10000 Men.

*Polocz*, on the *Dzwina*, was invested. This was a strong City which the *Muscovites* had usurped from *Lithuania*, and it open'd a Communication between that Duchy and *Livonia*. The King afterwards advanced with his whole Army to that Place, and beheld the most shocking Spectacle that could possibly be conceived. The River, that was red with human Blood, rolled, in its rapid Channel, a vast Number of dead Bodies, that were still panting on the Planks to which they had been fasten'd. The *Muscovites*,  
who

who were the Authors of this Barbarity, after they had doom'd to a rigid Captivity, the *Poles* who were so unfortunate as to fall into their Hands, caused them to suffer Death amidst the cruellest Tortures: They imagin'd this Proceeding would terrify the Forces, who came to besiege them: But their Inhumanities had not the Effect they propos'd, and instead of intimidating the *Poles*, it inflamed them with a just Ardour for Revenge.

The Cannon of the Besiegers made but little Impression on the wooden Walls, that surrounded the Place, and the Soldiers found it necessary to mount to the Assault with flaming Torches in their Hands. But their first Efforts, even with these Arms, were ineffectual, and the Flames they had kindled, were quenched by the violent Rains that descended upon them: Till, at last, the *Hungarians*, animated by the Promises of the King, in Conjunction with the Hopes of a rich Booty, boldly advanced to the Walls, where, in Spite of all the Opposition of the Besieged, they kindled a Blaze, that soon laid those Fortifications in Ashes; upon which the *Muscovites* sued for a Capitulation, and surrender'd themselves to their victorious Foes.

A great Number of *Germans* were found dead in the Place, and who had ended their Lives by Tortures, which had never been heard of till then. A *Muscovite* Nobleman had caused them to be dipped in a Cauldron of boiling Oil, after which, a Cord was drawn through the first Skin that enfolds the Belly; their Hands were likewise fasten'd behind them with that Cord, and in this miserable Condition, their Eyes were torn out of their Sockets, and their Faces also were mangled by their barbarous Tormentors. Their disfigured Carcases still retain'd the Marks of the  
cruel



cruel Wounds, with which the *Muscovites* had impressed them in different Intervals of Time. The Soldiers were wrought into Madness it self, at the Appearance of a Scene so dismal, and the King was obliged to interpose with all his Authority, to prevent their falling upon the Garrison, and cutting them to Pieces.

The Army, after this successful Expedition, was station'd in Winter Quarters; but the Duke of *Ostbrog* passed the *Boristhenes*, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, and pursued his Incursions to the Gates of *Starodub*. *Philon Smita*, the Governor of *Orsha*, likewise headed Part of his Garrison, and burnt 2000 Villages in the Parts adjacent to *Smolensko*.

1571.

*Battori* stood in need of Money and Troops, in order to open the next Campaign, and a Diet was held, upon this Occasion at *Warsaw*, where *John Sarius Zamoski*, who was render'd so famous by the *Swedish* War, disposed the Nation to grant new Subsidies to the King.

The Success of the last Campaign, had excited the Ardour of the *Poles*, and raised their Hopes to greater Victories. The same *Zamoski* was constituted General of the Troops, and he marched towards *Polocz*, to besiege *Pleskow*, a strong City in the Northern Part of *Livonia*. But while the *Poles* were exerting their Vigour against the *Muscovites*, the King of *Sweden*, who was their Ally, and had even engaged them in the War, enter'd *Livonia*, in a hostile Manner; and *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French* Gentleman, on whom he had bestowed his natural Daughter in Marriage, attacked the Castle of *Oscl*, and the other maritime Places of that Province. The King sent *John Herbert* of *Sanok*, to prevail upon the Enemy to retire, but all his Remonstrances were ineffectu-

al

al, and he was obliged to have Recourse to Dis-  
simulation, in the Conjunctions wherein he beheld  
himself engaged.

The Castle of *Ostrow*, which is seated in an  
Isle, formed by the River *Vielka*, cover'd *Ples-*  
*kow*, and prevented all Access to that Place.  
This Circumstance occasion'd the Siege of that  
Fortress, and the Garrison surrendred upon Con-  
ditions, at the very Instant when the *Poles* were  
mounting to the Assault. The Approaches were  
then carried on to *Pleskow*, and the King came in  
Person to the Siege.

This Town is situated in a fertile Country,  
bounded by Hills that rise with a gentle Ascent.  
Two Rivers water it with their Streams; and a-  
bove Forty Monasteries, that are built in differ-  
ent Parts of that Tract, surround it on all Sides;  
with a kind of Wall, which forms a magnificent  
Prospect. It is divided into Three Cantons,  
each of which is enclosed with Walls, and a strong  
Citadel rises in the Centre. *John Swiski*, the Ne-  
phew of *Peter Swiski*, who was defeated, in the  
Plains of *Czasnitz*, by *Nicholas Radzivil*, in the  
Reign of *Sigismund Augustus*, commanded in that  
Place, and he had Seven Thousand Horse, be-  
side a Troop of *Cossacks*, commanded by *Nicholas*  
*Circassia*.

Some of the *Poles* were apprehensive, that the  
Siege of the Place so well fortified, and which  
was defended by so numerous a Garrison, would  
be impracticable to the *Polish* Army, and they  
endeavoured to prevail upon the King to desist  
from that Enterprize, in order to besiege *Novo-*  
*grad*; but the undaunted *Battori* disregarded those  
pusillanimous Counsels, and all the Difficulties  
that had been set before him, only render'd him  
more confident of acquiring greater Glory, by  
the Event.

The Garison, or rather the Army, which defended the Place, made several Sallies at the Beginning of the Siege, and fought regular Battles, at the Foot of the Walls, but the Advantage was always in Favour of the *Poles*, and the Besieged were, at last, compelled to shut themselves up in their City. The *Hungarians* confined their Assaults to the Tower of *Porchow*, and the *Poles* to that of *Swinie*, and they mounted to the Assault, the Moment a Breach was open'd, to prevent the Enemy from repairing it, or throwing up a second Intrenchment. The *Germans* marched in the first Line, but, their Commander having the Misfortune to be kill'd, they were immediately dispirited from the Attack. The *Poles*, who were already exasperated at their being refused the first Place, made it evident that they merited the Priority. They advanced through the midst of the *German* Troops; passed the Ditch, and attacked the Port with so much Bravery, that they planted their Standards on the Breach. The *Hungarians* imitated their Valour, and made a Lodgment with them on the Tower. The Enemy, who beheld the *Polish* Ensigns on their Walls, had already betaken themselves to Flight, when *Swisky* mounted a Horse, cover'd with Wounds and Blood, and re-activated them so effectually, by his Prayers and Menaces, that they rallied for a second Engagement. The Bishop himself came to the Attack, where he presented the Relics of Saints to their View, and inspired them, by his moving Discourse, with all the Courage that Religion was capable of imparting. They returned to the Attack, and checked the Progress of the Assailants, on the Bank of a Ditch that was sunk within the Place. After which they immediately attacked them, and recover'd from them the Ground they had already gained

gained. The *Poles*, who had advanced beyond the other Troops, were the first who retired: All the Enemies Fire was then discharged upon the *Hungarians*, who, nevertheless, sustain'd the Assault till Night, and brought off their Companions who were either dead or wounded.

It appeared, by several intercepted Letters, that all the neighbouring Cities were preparing to succour *Pleskow*, but *Zamoski*, in order to prevent their Entrance into the City, formed an Ambuscade, on the Banks of the River *Welika*, and barricaded up the Passage above the City, with a kind of Dike, formed by a Conjunction of Boats. The *Russians*, taking the Advantage of a very dark Night, advanced, in Silence, with with an Intention to enter the Place, but they fell into the Ambuscade, and were pressed on all Sides by the *Germans* above them, and were easily defeated. Two Hundred Boiars, or Noblemen of *Muscovy*, remained Prisoners of War, and were carried off to the Camp. Two other Parties of *Muscovites* had likewise the same Fate.

While the *Poles* were carrying on those great Operations against *Pleskow*, *John*, King of *Sweden*, extended his Conquests in *Livonia*. His Troops chased the *Russians* out of *Wensenberg*, *Totsburg*, *Wikke*, and several other Places, and when they had obtained these first Advantages, *Pontus de la Gardia*, besieged *Narva* on the *Welika*. The Czar *John* had built a City, called *Ywanogrod*, on the other Bank of the River, and the Two Places were joined by a Bridge. The Garrison had been detached from thence, to defend *Pleskow*; the *Sweeds*, therefore, easily made themselves Masters of it. The Castles of *Jam-maturot* and *Corporio*, likewise surrender'd without daring to make the least Opposition.

The *Poles*, at the same Time, re-conquer'd se-



veral Places, that had been usurped from them by the *Muscovites*, and re-enter'd *Kiremps*, *Falkenaw*, *Pirckel*, *Salis*, *Lewenart*, and *Asterod*; while *Philon Kmit*, *Nicholas Radziwil*, and *Hara-barda*, who commanded a Hord of *Tartars* in the *Polish* Service, penetrated into the Enemies Country; defeated the *Russians* near *Salesa*, and ravaged all those Countries, almost in the very Sight of the Czar *John*, who had advanced as far as *Sturicia*, to wait the Event of the Siege of *Pleskow*, and who might easily have been carried off by the *Poles*, if *Radziwil* had been resolute enough to have undertaken that Enterprize.

The Siege of *Pleskow*, was carried on but faintly, during the Severity of the Winter Season, and if the *Poles* had not been headed by a General as able and intrepid as *Zamoski*, they would have made an inglorious Retreat from that Place. *Pleskow* is situated in one of the coldest Regions in *Muscovy*; where the Sun seldom appears in the Winter, and the Days are but Five Hours in Length. The Winter of this Year was more rigorous than had been known for a long Time, which render'd it impossible for the Guard to be station'd as usual. Those who were obliged to quit their Tents, on any Occasion, had their Faces and Hands frozen over with Cold, and the recovery of their natural Warmth, threw them into a burning Fever, which soon proved fatal to them. *Zamoski*, expos'd himself to the Severity of the Air, and tho' he was cover'd over with a Shower of frozen Snow, he yet animated his Troops by his Example and Discourse. He procur'd them all possible Accommodations, furnished them with proper Habits, rewarded them for their Toils, and frequently visited those poor Men, with an Air of so much Goodness and Affability, as never fails to make the strongest

est Impressions on the Heart of a Soldier.

*Swisky*, being but little satisfied with the Glory of a long Defence, was desirous of obtaining a Victory over the Besiegers, and he sallied from the City, to attack them in their Camp, notwithstanding the Rigours of the Season, which seem'd to have benumbed all Nature. He had scarce Seven Hundred Horse remaining, out of the Seven Thousand which he commanded at the beginning of the Siege, he however caused them to be assembled, and placed himself at their Head: The Infantry followed him in different Bodies.

The advanced Guard had Orders to abandon their Posts, in case of an Attack, and return to the Camp. *Swisky*, when he saw them retreat, imagined that all the *Polish* Forces were retreating, and galloped with full speed towards the Camp; but he advanced into the first Ranks of the Pickets, before *John Kretkows*, and *Stanislaus Erimsfski*, whose Troops had already taken Arms, came out of their Tents, cover'd with Snow, as if they had started out of a deep Ambuscade, and fell upon the Enemies Cavalry; 300 Men were killed, Sixty were made Prisoners, and the rest were forced into the Town.

During these Transactions, *Anthony Possevin*, a Jesuit, was endeavouring to effect an Accommodation between the Two Parties. The Czar, finding himself pressed by the *Poles*, sent an Embassy to the Pope, with Instructions to propose to him a War against the *Turks*. Not that he had any Intention to engage in such an Enterprize, and he perhaps was in no Condition to undertake a Part in it, but he hoped that the Pontiff, would be so allured by the Offer of powerful Succours against the common Enemy of Christendom, that he would espouse the *Muscovite* Interest, against the King of *Poland*. *Gregory XIII.* gave the

the Ambassadors a favourable Reception, and sent them back into their own Country, with the Jesuite above mention'd, who was perfectly acquainted with all the North, and he was commission'd to promote, if possible, a Pacification between the Two contending Powers.

*Possevin* succeeded in his Negotiation, and had the Ability to conciliate the Minds of the Two Nations to each other. A Peace was concluded at *Zapolia*, and the *Russians* yielded up *Livonia*, which occasioned the War. The *Poles* retired from *Pleskow*, and delivered up all the Places they had taken, except *Wielisz*, and the Territory of *Polocz*.

Such was the Period of this War, in which the Czar *John*, had not the Success that was apprehended from his Menaces and Power, and which cost him the Lives of Four Hundred Thousand of his Subjects. The Provinces on the Frontiers of *Poland*, were entirely depopulated, and became a vast Desert. He lost the Communication of the *Baltic* Sea, and was shut up, for the future, in the Forests of *Russia*, whose only Outlet was the frozen Sea, and he was cut off from all Intercourse with other Nations.

*Battori*, after the Accomplishment of such an advantageous Peace for *Poland*, applied himself to the Reformation of those Abuses, which had crept into the Administration, during the Tumults of War, and he made several civil and military Laws. The *Polish* Cavalry received from that Prince, those Regulations which are observed to this Time. He appointed Funds for the Payment of several Regiments, that were raised for the Defence of the Frontiers towards *Tartary*; he likewise disciplined the *Cossacks*, and established a certain Order among that Militia.

This Nation derives its Original from a Body of Robbers, who quitted all the neighbouring States,

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States, and canton'd themselves in the Isles formed in the Outlet of the *Boristhenes*. War and Plunder are their only Subsistence, and they have sometimes had the Presumption, to extend their Excursions beyond the black Sea, and to the very Gates of *Constantinople*.

They cloath themselves, in Winter, with the Skins of Sheep, on which they suffer the Wool to remain. They are harden'd to all kinds of Fatigue, disregard Hunger and Thrift, and all the Severities of the Air. They never intrench themselves in their Camp; their Waggon's are their only Fortification, and they defend themselves therein, with the utmost Obstinacy.

*Battory* had the Art to gain upon these *Barbarians*, and, in order to attach them to *Poland*, he presented them with the City and Territories of *Tochtimirow*, on the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, where they served as a Barrier, against the Invasions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whose Progress they have frequently checked, when they attempted an Irruption into the Kingdom. The *Poles* were desirous of subjecting them, but this fierce Nation has already found Means to preserve its Liberty against the Efforts of this powerful Kingdom, whose Interest it is to treat them with Moderation.

The *Swedes* had supported themselves in their Usurpation of those Places, which *Pontus de la Gardia*, had taken in *Livonia*, and *Battori*, amidst the Conjectures in which *Poland* was then involved, thought it most adviseable to suspend the Operations of War, by a Truce for some Years; but the *Swedes* were on the point of making themselves Masters of *Riga*, in violation of their Treaties; and the Inhabitants of that City, who were discontented because the King had not  
granted



granted them an entire Liberty of Conscience, in conformity to his Promise, but, on the contrary, had sent a Body of Jesuits among them, revolted the preceding Year, and *Gottard Wellinge*, their Syndic, had determined to introduce a Party of *Swedish* Troops into this Place. The King, when he was informed of this Conspiracy, order'd the Nobility to take Arms; he likewise erected a Castle on the Bank of the *Dwina*, to prevent the Enemy from making a Descent, and raised a Body of Troops to chastise the Rebels: but they endeavoured to prevent the Effects of his Vengeance, by engaging the Duke of *Courland*, to employ his Mediation in their Favour; notwithstanding which, *Battori*, who was irritated at their former Proceedings, commanded the Citizens to surrender at Discretion, and the Sight of the Two Envoys threw him into such a Rage, as affected him, a few Days after, with a dreadful Epileptic Fit, of which he died, at the Age of Fifty Three, and after he had reigned Ten Years and some Months. He subjected the *Dantzickers*, who were too much attached to *Maximilian*; he undertook, and sustain'd a War against *Muscovy*, with equal Success and Glory, and he reunited *Livonia*, and the Palatinate of *Polocz*, to the Kingdom of *Poland*. But this Prince, who had such Abilities for the wise Regulation of a State, was incapable of commanding his own Passions, and could not suppress that violent Emotion, which occasioned his Death. He, however, was a Prince truly great, both in Peace and War, and was lamented by his People as their Defender and Father. The Republick testified its Regret for his Death, by the magnificent Funeral they prepared for him, and *John Sarius Zamoski*, who had served him with such a series of Success, pronounced his Funeral Oration.

T H E

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND, &c.  

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BOOK V.

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UPON the Death of King *Stephen Battori*, 1587.  
*Stanislaus Karskowski*, Archbishop of *Gnes-*  
*na*, and Primate of the Kingdom, pub-  
The General Diet for the Election;  
 lish'd his *Universalia* for calling the Diet of Elec-  
 tion, which is usually held at *Warsaw*. Upon the  
 opening of the Assembly it was decreed, that the  
 King should be chosen by the general Consent of  
 all the Deputies, whether *Polish* or *Lithuanian*;  
 that whoever should adhere to a particular Fac-  
 tion, or sell their Voices, should be look'd upon  
 as Enemies to the State; that the Confederation  
 made upon the Election of *Henry de Valois* con-  
 cerning Religion, should be observ'd; and lastly,  
 that the new King should promise to recal the  
 Decree of Attainder issued out by his late Maje-  
 sty against *Christopher Zborowski*. At the same  
 R time

time *John Sarius Zamoski* was deprived of his Office of General, and that Employment conferred upon *Nicholas Herbert*, who then commanded in *Volbinia*.

The Family of *Zborowski* took an Advantage from the Absence of *Zamoski*, to obtain these preliminary Articles: They bore a mortal Hatred to that Lord, who, in the preceding Reign, had procured the Condemnation of *Christopher*, their Relation. These two powerful Parties soon divided the whole Nation, and each of them came to the Diet at the Head of an Army.

The *Lithuanians* also raised several Disputes. They demanded that *Livonia*, *Volbinia* and *Podolia*, which had been dismembred from their Duchy, should be reunited to it, and complain'd, that the *Poles* had broke in upon their Rights; that they had chosen the two last Kings against their Inclination; that they had sent an Embassy to *Rome*, without their being concerned in it; and that, in the present Election, it seemed as if they had still a Mind to overawe their Voices, by coming to the Assembly with an armed Force.

The *Prussians*, on their part, represented, That they were oppress'd with Taxes; that the Places of Profit and Power, in their several Cities, were conferred upon Strangers, and that the Vessels of *Dantzick* were detained by the King of *Denmark*, for Debts contracted by the late King. But the Diet remitted the Examination of all these Complaints to a more favourable Opportunity, and gave Audience to the Embassadors of foreign Princes.

*The different Candidates.*

The Pope's Legate was first heard. Tho' his Discourse tended only to exhort the *Poles* to Peace, and the Election of a Catholic Prince, yet it was plain enough to be seen, that he inclin'd to the House of *Austria*, and would have persuaded the

the Assembly, that it was necessary for them to make Choice of one of the Emperor's Brothers. The Archdukes *Ernest*, *Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, aspired to the Crown. They had gained over Count *Gorka* to their Party, and the powerful Family of the *Zborowski's*, who being ill used by King *Stephen*, had taken Refuge at the Court of *Vienna* in *Austria*. Their Competitor was Prince *Sigismund* of *Sweden*, the Son of *John III.* King of *Sweden*, and *Catharine* the Sister of *Sigismund Augustus*. And thus his Birth made him agreeable to the *Poles*, and gave him a kind of Pretension to the Throne, as he was descended from the Family of *Jagellon*.

*The Princes of the House of Austria.*

*The Prince of Sweden.*

*Theodore*, Grand Duke of *Muscovy*, was likewise a Candidate, and offer'd, in case he should be chosen, to incorporate that vast Empire to *Poland*, which lies between *Livonia* and the Shores of the *Caspian* Sea. The *Lithuanians*, who are constantly exposed to Invasions from *Russia*, supported the Demands of the Czar, notwithstanding the Suspicions to which the Proposals of their antient Enemy might be liable.

*The Czar of Muscovy.*

The *Piastes* oppos'd themselves to all the Cabals of Foreigners, and required that one of their own Nation might be plac'd upon the Throne. In fine, the Sultan declared for the Nephews of King *Stephen*, and signified by the Grand Vizir to the *Polish* Ambassadors at the Port, that it was his Desire the Electors should have a Regard to the Merit of those Princes.

*The Faction of the Piastes.*

As soon as the Ambassadors were heard, the private Animosities which divided the Lords, broke out into a Flame, and occasion'd an open Rupture. The Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and *Stanislaus Krijki* Palatin of *Cracow*, quitted the *Colo*, and held a separate Assembly in the Neighbourhood. They were followed by Count *Tenezin*,

*Division of the Lords.*



the Duke of *Ostrog*, *Andrew Opalinski* Marshal of the Kingdom, and the Chancellor *Zamoski*. The *Lithuanians* also retired, and shut themselves up in their Camp for above forty Days.

The Followers of the Primate and the Chancellor were inclin'd either to a *Piaſte*, or the Prince of *Sweden*; but after some Conferences amongst themselves, *Zamoski* brought them all over to favour *Sigismund*. They declar'd their Resolution to Count *Gorka* and the other Lords of his Faction, and desir'd their Sentiments; but they returned Answer, that they could not give their Advice, unless the whole Nation was assembled in the same Diet, and made up but one Senate.

Election of  
the Prince  
of Sweden,

Upon this Answer, the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, to prevent a more dangerous Division, returned to the *Colo*; but Count *Gorka* and the *Zborowski's* forgot the Respect which was due to his Character, and publicly insulted him, insomuch that the Prelate, not thinking himself secure, retir'd again with *Zamoski*. He was followed by all the Bishops of the Kingdom, except the Bishop of *Kiow*, and soon after they elected *Sigismund* Prince of *Sweden*, the Son of *John* the Third.

and of Ma-  
ximilian of  
Austria,

When the opposite Party were inform'd of their Proceedings, they resolv'd likewise to choose a King for themselves, and nominated *Maximilian* of *Austria*, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the *Lithuanians*, who did all they could to prevent this double Election. On the one hand, the *Zborowski's* sent the Bishop of *Kiow* and the Duke of *Prunski* to *Maximilian*, to engage him to come over as soon as might be, into *Poland*, and to offer him the Coronation-Oath for the Preservation of the Privileges of the Kingdom. And on the other hand, *Zamoski* demanded of the Prince of *Sweden*, that he should unite *Livonia* to *Poland*, and maintain a Fleet at his own Expence,

Expençe, for the Defence of his new Subjects : That he should provide a Supply of Arms and Ammunition for the Sieges of *Novogrod*, *Pleskow*, and *Smolensko*, in case the Czar should make any Motion : That he should remit the Sums which had been formerly borrowed of King *John*, by *Sigismund Augustus* : That he should quit all other Claims of *Sweden* upon *Poland* ; and lastly, that he should take a general Oath to observe whatever had been promis'd by *Henry de Valois*.

*Martin Lisnowolski* was then nominated to wait upon the new King in *Sweden*, and the Bishop of *Wladislaw*, with some other Lords, had Orders to receive him in the Road of *Dantzick*, and offer him the Oaths upon the *Pacta Conventa*, before he should set foot in the Kingdom. But King *John* was less pleased with the News of his Son's Election, than disturb'd at the Prospect of the Dangers, to which he was about to be exposed, by taking Possession of a Throne, which was disputed with him by the House of *Austria*. Besides, the Reunion of *Livonia* to *Poland* appear'd to him too hard a Condition, and of greater Value than the Purchase of an elective Kingdom. *Sigismund* was in the same way of thinking, and did not care to lose the smallest Jewel of an hereditary Crown, for the Acquisition of one which he could not transmit to his Posterity.

Whilst the Father and Son were thus unde-termin'd about accepting the Offers of *Lisnowolski*, *Zamolfski*, importing that he was Master of *Cracow* and the *Regalia*, and that if *Sigismund* would but come and shew himself to his People, it was all that was wanting to reduce them to their Obedience. The earnest Desires of the *Poles*, and the Glory of his Son, at last prevail'd upon King *John*, and he straight sent him

*Sigismund comes into Poland.*

on board, under a Convoy of three and twenty Vessels. *Sigismund* safely arrived at *Dantzick*, and there took the Oaths that were required, excepting only as to the Article which concerned *Livonia*.

Maximilian advances towards Cracow.

He is soon defeated by Zamoski.

In the mean time *Zamoski*, having entred *Cracow*, caused the Legality of the Prince of *Sweden's* Election to be published in all Parts. He signified to the Pope, the Emperor, and the Electors of the Empire, that *Sigismund* had been chosen by the Majority of the Lords, and that his Competitor had only the Voices of a small Number of Outlaws, who hop'd to repair the Loss of their Fortunes, by the Civil Wars they endeavour'd to raise within the Bowels of the Kingdom. On the other hand, *Maximilian*, being press'd thereto by the Family of *Zborowski's*, was already arriv'd upon the Frontiers of *Poland*, and had taken the Oaths, which the *Poles* of his Party had tender'd to him. He then advanc'd towards *Cracow*, intrench'd himself within five Miles of the Town, and there received the Troops which the *Zborowski's* brought in to him. With this Supply he drew near the Walls, and made the Inhabitants apprehensive of a Siege; but the active *Zamoski* was beforehand with him, and beat the *Germans*, before they could draw their Swords in the Kingdom. Two thousand of 'em were left upon the Field of Battle, and the rest escaped with the Archduke into *Silesia*.

This Defeat left the Way open to *Sigismund*, who, within a few Days after, made his Entry into *Cracow*, where he was crown'd. The brave *Zamoski* then put himself at the Head of the *Polish* Troops, and pursued *Maximilian*, who had retreated to *Wielun*, a Place of the Greater *Poland*, upon the Confines of *Silesia*. Upon his Approach, that Prince, who had with him no more than  
five

five hundred Horse and a small Number of Foot, quitted *Wielun*, and took Shelter in *Wilsen*, a Town situate beyond the Limits which divide *Silesia* from *Poland*. Thither *Stanislaus Preposwar* brought up to him a Body of *Hungarian* Troops, and *Stadniki*, who commanded the *Poles* of the Imperial Party, soon prevail'd on him to enter upon an Engagement. *Zamoski's* *Cossacks* were at first repuls'd by the *Germans*; but the *Poles*, who came up, renewed the Fight, and attack'd the Imperialists with so much Bravery, that they broke their Ranks, and put them to Flight. Three thousand of 'em were left upon the Field of Battle. *Maximilian* returned to *Wilsen*, whither *Zamoski* followed, and besieg'd him. The Place was weak, its Defenders few, and in a terrible Consternation at the late Defeat, and *Zamoski* threaten'd to set Fire to the Town. In this Extremity, the Archduke surrender'd himself Prisoner of War, with the principal Lords of his Party. The Conqueror treated him with the Respect which was due to his Quality as a Prince; and being as good a Patriot, as he was an able General, he shew'd so much Moderation to his Countrymen upon this Victory, that tho' they were his Enemies, they could not but admire his Magnanimity and Discretion.

*He is beaten  
a second  
time, and  
taken Pri-  
soner.*

*Sigismund* express'd the same Sentiments, and dissembled the Joy he could not but have for an Event which secur'd the Crown upon his Head, which 'till then had been almost in a tottering Condition. Queen *Anne* his Aunt, the Dowager of the late King, making him a Visit upon this Occasion, to congratulate him on his happy Success, he laid hold of the Opportunity of the Princess's Arrival, for making those solemn Rejoicings which were then express'd at *Cracow*.



A Treaty  
between  
the two  
Competi-  
tors.

The Court of *Vienna* was in a far different Situation, and a Face of Sadness cover'd the whole Empire. *Rodolphus* was personally offended with the Affront his Brother *Maximilian* had received, and the *German* Princes thought that the Disgrace of the Archduke's Defeat reflected upon the whole *Germanic* Body. The Emperor, who was either too pusillanimous or too weak to attempt a War against *Poland*, whilst the *Turk* threaten'd him with an Irruption into *Hungary*, presum'd not openly to engage in it, and had Recourse to the Mediation of the Pope, for bringing Matters to an Accommodation. *Sixtus V.* sent Cardinal *Al-dobrandini* into *Poland*, a Prelate of distinguish'd Merit, and equal to the Embassy he undertook. He was commission'd to demand *Maximilian's* Liberty, and the better to preserve his Reputation, to procure him, if possible, the Continuance of the Regal Title.

*Sigismund*, when he came to treat, shew'd the same Moderation as he had done after his Victory, and offer'd to release the Prince without Ransom; but *John Zborowski* hindred *Maximilian* from making the Cession that was requir'd of him, and consenting to a Treaty. He gave him Hopes, that he should soon be able, with new Forces, to rescue him out of Prison, and support his Election.

1589. However, after he had continued Prisoner a whole Twelve-month, the Archduke, quite spent with Vexation, and plainly discerning that the *Zborowski's* flatter'd him with vain Hopes, desir'd a Conference, in which it was agreed, that he should quit *Poland* without paying for his Ransom, or bearing the Title of King; that he should restore to Count *Cepus* the Castle of *Libloa*, which he had taken from him; that the former Treas-

ties

ties made between *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and the House of *Austria*, should be in full Force; and lastly, that *Maximilian* should swear to the Observation of this last Treaty, as soon as he should enter upon the Territories of the Empire.

These Conditions were approv'd by the Senate and King, and the Emperor confirmed them at *Prague*. The Archduke, who was conducted into *Silesia* by a Guard of *Polish* Troops, and set at Liberty, refus'd to comply with the Oath he had agreed to take, and hardly refrained from falling upon the Guard which had attended on him: But his Brother *Rodolphus*, who was a more religious Observer of his Word, and car'd not to engage himself in a new War, oblig'd him to make the Renunciation he had promis'd, and ratify the Treaty.

Peace being settled in *Poland*, the Diet of *Warsaw* made new Provisions for preventing Troubles in future Elections. They order'd that *Livonia* should be successively govern'd by a Palatin of *Lithuania*, and a Palatin of *Poland*; they put an end to the other Affairs of that Province, and gave Answers to the different Complaints of the Palatinates. They farther consider'd of proper Measures to restrain the unbounded Licence of the *Cossacks*, whose Inroads and Ravages in *Tartary*, and the Territories of the *Ottoman* Empire, might possibly engage *Poland* in a War.

In short, these Spoilers having made a sudden War against the Tartars. Irruption into *Tartary*, surpriz'd certain Vessels upon the Coasts of the *Black Sea*, and plunder'd *Coslovnia*; the *Tartars*, at the Instigation of the *Turks*, had pass'd the *Borysthenes* with 70000 Horse, and were encamp'd between the Lake of *Amadoka* and *Leopold* in *Russia*, from whence they ravag'd all the neighbouring Country.

John

*John Sarius Zamoski* was sent against them, and fortified *Kamieniec*, under an Apprehension lest the *Turks*, who were already in *Walachia*, where they waited for the Event of this Irruption of the *Tartars*, should fall upon that Place, which is the only Bulwark of *Christendom* on that Side. The *Cossacks*, encourag'd by the Presence of *Zamoski*, march'd in quest of the Enemy. And tho' they had come off with Loss in the two former Actions, Shame and a Desire of Revenge inspiring them with fresh Force and Courage, they at last obtain'd a compleat Victory. The *Cham* march'd to the Assistance of his Subjects at the Head of a fresh Army, and found Means to draw the *Cossacks* into an Ambuscade, whither their blind Confidence had driven them. Surrounded on all Sides, and glad of any Opportunity to save their Lives, they offered to surrender; but the *Tartar* would hearken to no Conditions, and shewed by his Example, how dangerous it is to reduce a courageous Enemy to Despair. The *Cossacks*, exhorting one another to stand out to the last Breath, and resolving to sell their Lives at a dear Rate, fell so furiously upon the *Tartars*, that they made their Way through the Batallions, which encompassed them; and being thus disengaged from the false Step they had taken, they contended a second time for the Victory. The *Cham* strove to oppose them, but in vain; he saw his Son killed by his Side, and himself was dangerously wounded. His Troops dispersed and abandoned him; and were it not for some faithful Subjects, who sacrificed themselves to save their Prince, he must have been either slain or taken Prisoner. The scattered Remains of his Army escaped into the neighbouring Woods; but being soon constrained to quit them through Famine, the poor Wretches were all knocked on the

the Head like so many Brute Beasts. After this Victory, there was no putting a Stop to the Rage of the Conquerors, who, notwithstanding all that *Zamoski* could do to prevent it, made an Irruption into *Tartary*, and put all to Fire and Sword.

The *Polish* General then sent to the *Basha*, who commanded the *Turkish* Army upon the Banks of the *Nieſtar*, to demand whether he intended to obſerve the former Treaties; and the Infidels, who ſaw from their Camp the Fires which the *Coffacks* had kindled in *Tartary*, and intimidated by the Defeat of their Allies, did not preſume to proceed any farther, but retired.

The next Year, the *Coffacks* again ſurprized and plundered certain Merchant Ships belonging to the *Turks*, who, relying upon the Treaty then ſubſiſting, were taking in freſh Proviſions upon the Coaſt of the *Black Sea*. They then entered the *Pontic Chersonesus*, and committed more cruel Ravages than they had done before; inſomuch that *Amurath*, in the Heat of his Indignation, and imputing the Proceedings of the *Coffacks* to the *Poles*, engaged the *Cham* to make an Irruption into their Kingdom, and ordered his *Baſhas* to raiſe an Army to follow him thither. The *Tartars*, greedy of Prey, were immediately upon their March, entered *Poland*, and having enriched themſelves with great Spoils, retired into their own Country, where the *Coffacks*, who had been the Occaſion of the War, fell upon them and beat them. *Zamoski*, who was advanced as far as the Frontiers, to oppoſe the *Turkiſh* Army, which lay incamped upon the Frontiers of *Walachia*, ſent to demand of the *Baſha* who commanded it, whether he was come up as a Friend, or an Enemy; and the *Turk* made Answer, that he would offer no Hoſtility, in caſe the



the *Cossacks* were punished for their Insolence; and soon after the *English* Ambassador had Credit enough at the *Port* to cause all these Insults to be overlooked, and prevented a Rupture of the Treaties.

Their Treaty  
of Peace.

1594. *Sigismund* crown'd King of Sweden. *John III.* King of *Sweden* now dying, his Son the King of *Poland* was crowned at *Upsal*. *Sigismund*, who was a *Roman Catholic*, was desirous that the Ceremony might be performed by *Francis de Malespine* Bishop of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nuncio; but *Adam Andracan*, the Primate of the Kingdom, and a zealous Protestant, warmly opposed it. The Senate and all the Orders of the Kingdom joined with him, and would not allow a foreign Prelate to crown their King. As they were apprehensive that he had some Design of making Alterations in the Religion of the Country, and restoring the Faith of their Ancestors, they obliged him to take an Oath of Conformity to the Ordinances of his Grandfather *Charles V.* and the Decrees of the last Synod of *Upsal*, in favour of the *Ausbourg* Confession; insomuch that his Majesty was obliged to have Recourse to the Sollicitations of the *Polish* Lords who attended him, before he could obtain Leave to have Mass said in his own Palace.

1597. *Sigismund* then advised with the States-General, assembled at *Stockholm*, about settling the Administration during his Absence, and his Uncle *Charles Duke of Suderland* was declared Regent of the Kingdom. But he soon abused the Authority he was entrusted with, and the ambitious Prince made no Scruple of becoming an Usurper. He presently took several Steps, under the Pretence of defending the Confession of *Ausbourg* against the Attempts of the *Roman Catholics*, which had

*Charles of*  
*Suderland,*  
*Regent of*  
*Sweden, abuses his*  
*Authority.*

a ma-

a manifest Tendency to the Throne, and seem'd to threaten an immediate Revolt. *Sigismund* complain'd of it, dispatch'd his Ambassadors into *Sweden*, and depriv'd *Charles* of the Title of Regent, which he had conferr'd upon him. But the Duke found Means to procure an Establishment of the Character and Authority, which the King had taken from him, by the States of the Kingdom. He then, notwithstanding *Sigismund's* Orders, call'd them together at *Arboge*, where they confirm'd to him the Title of Regent of the Kingdom, gave him Commission to do whatever he judged necessary for its Defence, and declar'd all those Traitors, who within six Months should not subscribe to these Declarations.

The Duke of *Sunderland*, invested with this unlawful Authority, made himself Master of *Stockholm* and the Fort of *Elfenbourg*. And Rebel as he was, and usurping an Authority which his Master had taken from him, he endeavour'd notwithstanding to impose upon the People, by assuring them that all his Proceedings were avow'd by the King, and that he acted only for the Maintenance of Religion; tho', in Reality, under the Title of Regent he already exercised regal Power. He turn'd out the Magistrates and Officers put in by *Sigismund*, to make room for Creatures of his own. He remov'd the greatest Part of the Senators, attainted some of them, and seiz'd upon the Estates of all who ventured to complain. He obliged the Chancellor *Eric Sparre* to remove out of *Scandinavia*, and put such Governors and Garisons into all the Forts, as were intirely at his Devotion. *Finland* and the Fort of *Arbon* refusing to acknowledge his Authority, he entred the Country, Sword in Hand, ravaged it in an hostile Manner, and threw the Great Men into Prison.

*He seizes on Stockholm, and banishes the Lords, that are true to Sigismund.*

*Sigismund*

1598.  
Sigismund  
goes into  
Sweden.

*Sigismund*, upon Information of all these Treasons, prepared to pass into *Sweden*, after having advis'd with the Diet at *Warsaw*, which fixed his Return to the Feast of *St. Bartholomew* in the Year next ensuing. He embark'd in the Road of *Dantzick* with 5000 Men, and design'd to make a Descent at *Calmar*, a Sea-Town in *Sweden*; but he did not use all the Diligence that was necessary, and through a great Mistake took his Course by Sea, when he might have been able in a little Time to have gain'd *Finland* by Land, which continued faithful to him. In short, the maritime Coasts of *Sweden* are full of steep Rocks, which make it as difficult to land among them, as the Prospect of them is frightful. They look at a Distance like high Ramparts, impossible to be penetrated. And the nearer one comes to Shore, the more Reason there is for apprehending Danger from the Shelves and Sands. Some lie upon a Level with the Water; others are covered by the Waves; and others discover themselves only to be dreaded by the Mariners. The Inhabitants of the Country call them *Sharen*, and they line the Coasts of the *Swedish* Sea for above 200 German Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. These little Islands, which are innumerable, form a Labyrinth, which is not easily pervious; for they are all shap'd alike, and it is morally impossible to distinguish them from each other, or fix any Names to them.

*Stephen Banner*, the Admiral of the King's Fleet, wander'd a long Time in the Windings of this *Archipelagus*, and gave Time to *Charles* to get ready his Forces. The Wind carried *Banner* from the Road he design'd to take, and drove him towards *Steckbourg*. If he had pursu'd the Course which Fortune pointed out to him, and march'd

march'd directly to *Stockholm*, *Charles* must have been taken unprovided, and perhaps oblig'd to a Compliance with whatever *Sigismund* might have impos'd; but the King tarried some Days at *Steckbourg* to confer with his Sister, and in the mean while the Wind became contrary. *Charles* had therefore Time to make all necessary Preparations, and the Zeal of the King's Friends began to abate through his Remifness.

*Sigismund* made another false Step, by entering *Sweden* with a foreign Force. It was thought, that the Duke of *Sunderland* would have submitted, if the King had not us'd Menaces towards him, and compell'd him to take up Arms for the Defence of his Life and Estate; but that after he had rais'd an Army, and Fortune prov'd favourable to him, he laid hold of the Opportunity to carry the Rebellion farther than he at first intended. Be this as it will, *Charles* advanced with an Army, Charles opposes him. to meet *Sigismund* as far as the Plains of *Lincopen*, and then dispatch'd certain Lords to him, to bring Matters to an Accommodation. *Sigismund* at first refus'd to hear them; but was prevail'd on afterwards to grant them an Audience. In the mean time the *Hungarians* without any Order fell upon the *Swedish* Troops with so much Fury, that if the King had not founded a Retreat, and gone himself into the Field of Battle, they would have intirely defeated them. Enrag'd however to see the Victory thus wrested out of their Hands, they threw themselves upon the dead Bodies of the *Swedes*, cut them to pieces, and made a like Carnage amongst them as wild Beasts would have done, which had been oppress'd with Hunger. This Action alienated the Affections of the *Swedes* still more from the King, whilst the odious Barbarity of the *Hungarians* was imputed to *Sigismund*. Several Lords of his Party  
went



*He returns  
into Poland:*

went over to *Charles* upon this Occasion, who soon oblig'd the King to return into *Poland*. He recovered *Stockholm* and *Calmar*, which had declared for *Sigismund*, and punished all those as Rebels, who had shewn any Inclination to serve their lawful Prince.

He then held a Diet at *Jencopen*, in which a Day was prescribed for *Sigismund* to return into *Sweden*; and the same Decree was repeated in another Assembly held at *Stockholm* soon after. *Charles*, who as yet play'd the Dissembler, and mov'd by gentle Degrees towards the Throne, procur'd an Ordinance, that if the King would not immediately come over, and by his Presence put a Stop to the Calamities of the State, they would elect his eldest Son *Ladislaus*, upon Condition that *Sigismund* would send him into *Sweden* to be there brought up.

*War in Li-  
vonia.*

The War was now carried into *Livonia*. *Charles* made himself Master of *Pernaw*, *Solen*, *Leifs* and *Fallin*. *Derpt* was next besieged, and had the same Fate, insomuch that in six Months Time the whole Province was subject to the Usurper, except two or three strong Places. The *Poles*, the *Germans*, and the *Swedes* ravaged by Turns; and the unfortunate *Livonians* felt all the most dreadful Miseries that War could inflict. As *Livonia* depended upon *Poland*, the Invasion of *Charles* caused a Rupture with this Kingdom, and *Sigismund's* Quarrel became that of the Republick. Thus *John Sarius Zamoski* march'd into *Livonia* at the Head of a *Polish* Army to oppose the Progress of *Charles*, and recover the Places which he had taken. *Wolmer* was his first Conquest. *Helmet Weissenstein*, *Mariembourg*, and *Nienbusen* were carried with a like Rapidity. He starv'd *Ronebourg* into a Compliance, which the *Lithuanians* the Year before had fruitlessly besieged; and the

the strong Place of *Fellin* was oblig'd to open her Gates to him.

Tho' *Charles* of *Suderland* had long possessed the Throne of *Sweden* under the Name of Regent, he had never yet ventur'd to take upon himself the Style of King. At last, to compleat his Crime, and procure a Title, which so much flatter'd his Ambition, he caus'd a Libel to be dispersed, in which *Sigismond* was accused as having infringed the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and endeavoured to introduce the *Romish* Religion into *Sweden*. The King was represented as a Tyrant, who had intended the Destruction of his own Subjects, and already put to Death a great Number of them in different Engagements; and in the Conclusion the *Swedes* were exhorted to make choice of another King. This Libel had the Effect which *Charles* expected. The Estates met together; *Sigismond* was depos'd, and the Crown offered to *Charles*. But the crafty Aspirer, who sought to lessen the Odium of an Usurpation by an affected Modesty, pretended imaginary Scruples, which in Reality he had not. He must in a manner be forced upon accepting what in his Heart he so eagerly desired; and the Nation must seem to place him upon the Throne, as the Recompence of the many Services he had done the State. However, he was not crown'd till two Years after.

1654.  
*Charles of Suderland usurps the Crown of Sweden from his Nephew Sigismond.*

*Zamoski*, after he had recover'd from the *Swedes* almost all the Places they had taken, return'd into *Poland*, and gave up the Command of the Army in *Livonia* to *Charles Chotkiewit*, who, by his Conduct and Valour, shew'd himself a worthy Successor to the great Man who had preceded him in the Generallship. The Duke of *Suderland*

1605.  
*He is beaten in Livonia,*

having passed into *Livonia* with a Fleet of 40 Sail, and 12000 Men on Board, summoned the Inhabitants of *Riga* to surrender, and upon their Refusal laid Siege to the Town. *Andrew Linderson*, an Officer in the *Swedish* Service, march'd out from *Revel* at the same time with 4000 Men, to join the Army of his Master; but the *Polish* General being inform'd of his March, put a Stop to his Progress, and defeated him between *Fellin* and *Pernaw*. He then advanced towards the Place besieged, and seized upon an advantagious Post, which Nature had fortified, from whence he could securely view the Steps of the Enemy. The Usurper, who was desirous absolutely to engage, strove to move the *Poles* from their Situation, and draw them out into the open Field. To succeed the better in this Scheme, he posted himself upon a little Hill over against their Camp, at the Foot of which was a spacious Plain, which divided the two Armies. But *Chotkiewit* continued firm in a Post, where he could not be attack'd, and which kept the *Swedes* in awe, and stirr'd not a Step till the Enemy, thro' an Eagerness of fighting, had engaged to a Disadvantage. In short, the Duke of *Sunderland*, impatient of any longer Delay, ventur'd into the Plain to attack the *Poles*, and force them to an Engagement. As soon as *Chotkiewit* perceiv'd that he could fight to Advantage, and that the Disposition of the Ground counter-balanced the Number of the Enemy, he poured like an impetuous Torrent from the Hill where he lay encamp'd, fell upon the Enemy that were below him, attack'd their Right Wing, broke it, and put it to the Rout. The *Swedes* detach'd a Body of Horse from their Left Wing to surround him; but *John Sapieha*, who had foreseen their Motion, fell upon that Body, and put them to flight. The Number of  
the

the Enemy however made the Victory more difficult. They frequently rallied, fought again, still resisted, but at last were forced to yield. What followed, was more a Slaughter than a Battle. Eight Thousand *Swedes* were kill'd upon the spot. Part of their Fugitives were knock'd on the head by the Country People; and others blinded by their Fears, threw themselves into the Bogs, where they perished. The Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, who followed *Charles* of *Sunderland* in this Expedition, were slain. *Andrew Linderson*, Count *Mansfeld*, and the Usurper himself, were dangerously wounded.

*Muscovy* this Year underwent a most surprising Revolution. The Czar *Theodore* died in 1598, and had left the Administration of his large Territories to his Wife *Gernia*. This Princess had a Brother nam'd *Boris*, who, by his Address and artful Insinuations, had gain'd the Confidence of *Theodore*, and was advanced to the highest Offices in the State. So many Instances of Kindness would have rais'd a grateful Sense in any other Breast, and satisfied any other Man but *Boris*: But all the Honours his Prince heap'd upon him, serv'd only to blow up his Ambition, which carried his Views as far as to the Throne. The Czar had no Children; and *Demetrius* his younger Brother was to be his Successor. *Boris* caus'd him to be assassinated in the Life-time of *Theo-*  
Revolution  
in Muscovy.  
The Death  
of Demetrius  
*dorus*, and had Cunning enough to conceal his Crime. He was indeed suspected of it, and it was feared lest he should make some Attempt upon the Life of the Czar; but to efface all these Suspicions, he lessen'd the Taxes, gave ear to the Complaints of Towns, redress'd the Grievances of private Persons, and found Means to make himself belov'd by the People.



*The Death  
of Theodore  
and Inter-  
regnum.*

Upon the Death of *Theodore*, the Nation offer'd to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Empress *Gernia*; but that Princess, either to pave the Way to the Throne for her Brother, or through an Excess of Grief for her deceased Husband, declar'd that she would renounce the World, and put the Administration into the Hands of the *Knés* and the *Boiars*.

Upon this Declaration the People rose and ran to the Gates of the Monastery, where *Boris* also was, and besought them, that they would not abandon their faithful Subjects, who would never obey any other Princes. *Boris* shew'd himself to the People; and to calm a Tumult, which fell but little short of a Sedition, he promised, that as soon as the forty Days of Mourning were over, he would take upon himself the Reins of the Government, provided the *Boiars* would divide with him the Cares of so painful an Employment.

The Czarina took the Veil, and the Time of Mourning being over, the People were call'd together into the Citadel. The Chancellor *Basil Jacoblinitz Salo Calf* exhorted them to submit to the *Boiars*, and acknowledge their Authority; but the whole Assembly seem'd to be enrag'd at his Discourse, and loudly demanded Prince *Boris*, the Brother of the Czarina, as that Princess had retired. Upon these Acclamations *Boris*, who was present, rose up, and with a feigned Modesty, which he affected only to make the greater Impression upon the People, refused the Crown they offer'd him. He even withdrew into the Monastery where his Sister was, and continued there a whole Month. At last the People flock thither in Troops, tumultuously demand him, and threaten to set fire to the Convent, if he did not presently appear.

*The People  
demand Boris  
to be Czar.  
After some  
Resistance he  
accepts the  
Crown.*

The

The Czarina strives to calm their Passions, returns to her Brother, throws herself at his Feet, conjures him with Tears in her Eyes to appease a People, whom too great a Love for him was about to carry to the utmost Excess. He yields at last, when he thinks he had resisted enough, to stop the Clamours of envious Tongues, and *Gernia* lets the People know, that her Entreaties had prevail'd upon her Brother to comply, and that he was now willing to take upon himself the Administration of the Empire.

*Boris* govern'd *Russia* in Peace, when an Impostor rose up against him, and wrested the Sceptre out of his Hands, which he had gain'd by so enormous a Villainy. A Stranger appears under the Name of *Demetrius*, who had been assassinated by the Orders of *Boris*, and calls himself the right Heir of *Theodore*. He gave out, that his Mother, inform'd of the Conspiracy laid by *Boris* against the Life of the Prince of *Muscovy*, and foreseeing the Danger, had laid another Child in his Bed, which had been massacred in his stead, and buried immediately, for fear the Assassin should discover the Artifice. Besides all this, he exactly resembled the true *Demetrius*. He had, like him, one of his Arms longer than the other, and a like Mole in his Face; but then his Sense, his Air, and his genteel Behaviour, seem'd all to put his Birth out of question.

He first applied to the *Polish* Jesuits, and gave them Hopes, that if ever he came to the Throne of his Fathers, his first Care should be to draw over the *Russians* to the Church of *Rome*. The Jesuits wrote immediately to the Pope, and press'd his Holiness to engage the King of *Poland* to give Assistance to this pretended Prince. They then presented him to *George Mécinski*, the Palatine of *Sandomir*, whose Daughter he privately promised.

*A supposititious Demetrius rises against Boris.*

*The Jesuits support him.*

to marry, and he introduc'd him into the Court of Poland.

He appears  
before the  
King of Po-  
land, who  
promises him  
Assistance.

Tho' a Suppliant, he address'd himself to the King like a Prince, and without making any Submissions which might have betray'd his Birth, and was then receiv'd in Poland as the true *Demetrius*. There he rais'd an Army of 10000 Men, march'd towards the Frontiers of *Muscovy*, pass'd the *Boristhenes*, and took *Zerniga* without any Opposition. The *Cossacks*, gain'd by his Promises, joined him; and *Corelas* their Head, opened to him the Gates of *Putinne*.

*Boris*, in the mean while, informed of the Storm which was gathering in Poland, wrote to the Senate, that he could not have thought the Wisdom of the *Poles* could have been surprized by a Fable so evidently false, or that they would have infringed the Treaties between them in favour of an Impostor; that *Demetrius* was dead, and the whole Nation knew it, and had mourned for him; he therefore besought *Sigismond* to seize upon the Person of the supposititious *Demetrius*, and send him to him dead or alive. He added, that if the *Poles* should supply the Impostor with any Succours, they should learn by a fatal Experience, what it was to provoke the Rage of the Emperor of *Russia*. Besides these Menaces, he had recourse to Intreaties, and applied to the Senators privately, to gain them over to his Interests; but the Pope's Sollicitations and the Credit of the Jesuits prevail'd, and the King was persuaded, that it was the Interest of Religion and the Republic, to support the Party of *Demetrius*.

Thus *Boris* levied an Army, and march'd against this pretended Prince at the Head of 100000 Men. The Palatine of *Sandomir*, who commanded the Army of *Demetrius*, flattered himself

himself that a great Part of the Enemies Troops would pass over to him, and therefore he sought for an Opportunity to engage, though his Forces were unequal; but he was defeated on the first Onset, and oblig'd to fly. *He is beaten,*

*Demetrius* escap'd into the Castle of *Rillesk*, where he defended himself with Courage, though almost all his Soldiers had forsaken him: Even the two *Carthusians*, whom he had brought with him as Witnesses of his Piety and Zeal for the *Romish* Religion, deserted him; but the Jesuits *Nicholas Ckerrakowski* and *Andrew Lowitz* were constant to him, and encouraged him by their Example and Discourse. He seem'd himself thoroughly convinc'd of the Goodness of his Cause; and whenever he went to engage, he was seen to lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and pray God to strike him dead with Thunder, if his Pretensions to the Throne were not just.

Fortune soon after declared for him. He beat the *Muscovite* Army, which besieged him, with an Handful of Men, and forced them to a shameful Retreat. He then entred *Pontivol*. Five neighbouring Towns opened him their Gates; and he found in *Bialogrod* an hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon. *Jaleka* and *Luptine* presently after surrender'd; and the whole Province of *Severia* submitted to him.

Whilst he lay at *Pontivol*, *Boris* sent certain Emissaries to assassinate him; and the Patriarch of *Muscovy* published a Decree, by which he excommunicated all the Followers of *Demetrius*. The Assassins being discovered, *Demetrius* treated them with Clemency, and gave them their Pardons. He wrote at the same time to the Patriarch, and desired he would confine himself within the Bounds of his Ministry, and not employ Religion in the Support of an unjust Cause. He is

*His Success,*



said likewise to have sent a Letter to *Boris*, in which he, in very lively Terms, reproached him with the Means he had made use of to ascend the Throne, and offered him Pardon, with considerable Advantages to himself and his Family, in case he would retire into a Monastery, of which the Choice should be left to himself. *Boris* was so struck with the reading of this Letter, that, whether through Indignation or Remorse, he fell into an Apoplexy, and died, after having reign'd seven Years.

*Boris dies.*

His Son was crowned, and all the Lords took an Oath of Fidelity to him; but a blind Fortune soon changed the Face of Affairs, and displaced the Son of *Boris* to raise *Demetrius* to the Throne, who was almost as soon plucked down.

*Crom* was besieged by the *Muscovites*, and had already sustained ten Assaults. *Demetrius*, in whose favour that City had declared, was afraid lest it should fall under the redoubled Efforts of the Besiegers, and dispatch'd *Zaporski* to its Assistance. As that General had not Troops enough to break through the *Russian* Camp by Force, he had recourse to Stratagem. He made use of an ignorant Country Fellow, by whom he sent a Letter to the Governor of *Crom*, in which he pressed him to a vigorous Resistance, upon Hopes of the speedy Arrival of 40000 Men, who were already upon their March to succour him. This Fellow was taken by the Besiegers, as *Zaporski* intended that he should. He was put to the Question, and confess'd what himself was fully persuaded of, that *Zaporski* was upon his March with a numerous Army. The *Muscovites*, astonished at this false Report, immediately converted the Siege into a Blockade, and went to meet *Zaporski*, who, to confirm their Fears, stretched out his Troops as much as possible, ordered a great Noise

Noise to be made in the Camp, and commanded all the Valets of his Army to mount on Horseback. He likewise sent certain Soldiers into the Enemies Camp, who pretending to be Deserters, assured the *Russian* General and his Officers, that another Body of Troops was following *Zaporski*, who taking Advantage of their Mistake, fell upon them immediately with all the Briskness the *Poles* were capable of. The Attack proved successful: The first Ranks of the Enemy were broken, and *Peter Busmanof*, who had been the first Minister of *Boris*, immediately abandoned the Cause of his Son, to declare in favour of *Demetrius*. The Example of so considerable a Man drew after him a great Number of Officers, who submitted and sent Deputies to *Demetrius*, to assure him of their Fidelity. General *John Houdun*, who refused to comply, was put under a Guard, and sent to Prison.

*The Army declares for Demetrius.*

*Moscow* followed the Example of the Army, and the People there rose in favour of *Demetrius*. The Widow of *Boris*, the Czar, his Son and Daughter, were shut up in a close Prison. The Dowager Czarina, fearing the Vengeance of the Conqueror, took down a Draught of Poison, and gave of it to her two Children. The Son of *Boris* died of it; but his Daughter, upon taking an Antidote, survived.

*Demetrius* made a magnificent Entry into the Capital of the Empire, and was there solemnly acknowledged Great Duke of *Muscovy*, and King of *Casan* and *Astracan*, Provinces which *John Basilides* had conquered. His Coronation was solemnized towards the End of *July*, and his pretended Mother assisted at the Ceremony. She had been shut up in an obscure Monastery by the Order of *Boris*, where she had remained in an intire Oblivion. *Demetrius* took her out from thence,

*He makes an Entry into Moscow. His Behaviour towards his Subjects.*

thence, embraced her with Tears in his Eyes, gave her an Attendance suitable to her Quality, and heaped continual Honours upon her. The Princess, on her side, either flattered by the Change of her Condition, or afraid to declare what she thought, owned the pretended *Demetrius* for her Son, and by that means confirmed the common Mistake of all the *Muscovites*.

But the Preference he gave to the *Poles* before his native Subjects, the Inclination he shewed towards the *Romish* Religion, and the Treatment he gave to the Family of *Boris*, proved fatal to him. He removed the *Muscovites* from his Court and all Employments, and shewed Favour only to the Foreigners, who advanced him to the Throne, and particularly to the *Jesuits*, who obtained a rich Establishment in *Moscow*. Seventy of the most considerable Families in the Empire, which were either allied to the late Czar, or held out too long in the Cause of his Sons, were attainted, and their Estates given to the *Polish* Lords who had followed him.

Whilst all submitted to *Demetrius*, *Theodore Swiski* or *Chousqui* was almost the only one who ventured to rise up against the Authority of this new Prince. He endeavoured to form a Conspiracy, and harangued against him in a most virulent manner; but these first Efforts proved unsuccessful, and the Plot being discovered, he was taken up and condemned by the Senate. *Swiski* was brought to the Scaffold, when *Demetrius*, through a Clemency which proved fatal to him, prevented the Blow, and granted his Pardon to the Criminal.

1606.

In the mean time the new Czar sent a magnificent Embassy into *Poland*, to return Thanks to *Sigismund* for the Assistance he had given him, to  
renew

renew the former Treaties, and demand the Daughter of the Palatine of Sendomir in Marriage. She came into Muscovy with her Father, her Uncle, and a long Train of German and Italian Merchants. Within some few Days after her Arrival, she was crown'd by the Patriarch of Russia, who likewise performed the Ceremony of the Marriage.

*He married the Daughter of the Palatine of Sendomir.*

Tho' all Things carried the Face of publick Tranquillity, there was notwithstanding a private Conspiracy against the pretended Demetrius. Whether it was through Prudence, or Fear and Remorse, but he foresaw all the Mischief which threatened him; the Conspiracy he had discovered six Months before, returned to his Mind, and he feared the Consequences of a Plot which he had left unpunished. Besides, he had no Guards, and could not but wonder at himself, for having dismissed, thro' a blind Confidence, the German Troops, which he had in his Pay. As to the Poles, their Number was inconsiderable, and instead of being able to restrain the Fury of an enraged People, they could only serve to inflame it. In short, they treated the Muscovites as a conquered Nation, and with so much Contempt, that these revengeful People were in a Hurry to get rid of these proud Foreigners, and the Prince who had brought them in with him. The Quarrel began at an Entertainment, where the Polish Ambassador would be placed at the Czar's Table. As this Pretension was contrary to Custom, the principal of the Boiars were so provoked at it, that they were hardly restrained from coming to Blows.

*A Plot against him.*

Some few Days after, the Storm broke out. On the 27th of May, the Conspirators met early in the Morning. They were joined by the Body of the Nobility, and the People rose to their Assistance,

*The Poles are assembled.*



sistance. Some of them besiege the Quarter of the *Poles*, attack it, carry it, and put all to the Sword; whilst others run furiously towards the Citadel, where the Garison, either surprized or corrupted, make but a faint Resistance. *Peter Busmanof*, the Confident of *Demetrius*, was killed upon the very first Onset; and *Swiski*, at the Head of a Troop of Conspirators, with a Sword drawn in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other, makes himself Master of the Avenues of the Prince's Apartment. The Impostor awakes at the Noise, lays hold of his Sabre, and throws himself out at the Window. Being hurt in his Thigh, he was soon laid hold of, notwithstanding all his Oppositions, and led into a great Hall, by *Swiski's* Orders. But tho' Death stood round him on every Side, his Courage never left him, and he behaved like a Prince to the last Moment of his Life. A *Boiare* presuming to speak disrespectfully to him, he punished him immediately for his Insolence, and gave him a Blow with his Sabre. He then spoke resolutely to the Conspirators, desired the People might be admitted, and the Princess his Mother brought to assure them still that he was the real Son of *John Basilides*. But *Swiski*, who observed the Conspirators to be somewhat moved, caused him to be killed immediately, with a *German* Officer that was present, for fear he should divulge what had passed.

*The false  
Demetrius  
is slain.*

*Paterfon* a *Swedish* Historian asserts, on the other hand, that *Swiski* produced the Widow of *John Basilides*, and Mother of *Demetrius*, and that the Princess declared her Son had been slain; but that she durst not venture to aver it till then; and besides she was overjoyed to see the Avenger of *Boris's* Villainy upon the Throne.

*Judgment  
concerning  
him.*

It is commonly believed that this *Demetrius* was an Impostor: And yet, the Resemblance of his Person

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Person and Countenance with the Prince whose Name he assumed, his Courage after his first Defeat, the Greatness of Mind which appeared in all his Actions, and the Declarations of the Dowager of *John Basilides*, who at first owned him for her Son; all these Circumstances have led some to believe, that the *Muscovites* unjustly murdered the lawful Heir to the Crown. His Behaviour at his Death is uncertain. Those who consider him as a Counterfeit, say, that he own'd the Imposture before his Death, and that his pretended Mother declared that her Son was assassinated by *Boris*. Others, on the contrary, maintain, that he constantly defended his Character and Condition; that the Dowager Czarina never disowned him for her Son, and that, lastly, his Inclination to favour the *Romish* Religion, and the Friendship he expressed towards the *Poles*, were the sole Causes of his Misfortune.

However this be, as soon as he was slain, *Swiski* caused him to be publickly exposed for four Days, and his dead Body was treated by the Populace with the utmost Indignity. Twelve hundred *Poles* perished with him. The foreign Merchants were plundered: One single Man lost 200000 Florins, and almost all of them were put to the Sword. The Daughter of the Palatine of *Sandomir*, who had so lately arrived from *Poland*, with such Pomp and Magnificence, and but a few Days before had seen herself possess'd of the highest Pitch of Grandeur, was taken into Custody and thrown into an obscure Prison, and happy enough that she escaped with Life. At length the Fury of the People being abated, they proceeded to the Election of a Czar, and *Swiski* was chosen.

*Swiski is chosen.*

His first Care was to lay open the Death and Imposture of the pretended *Demetrius*. He sent abroad

Another De-  
metrius rises  
up.

abroad a Declaration, in which it was asserted, that his true Name was *Gregory Griski* or *Strepy*; that he had been a Monk and a Domestick of the Patriarch's; and that he ascended the Throne by Means of Witchcraft. But tho' his Death was certain, and all the *Muscovites* in a manner were Witnesses of it, yet another *Demetrius* appeared upon the Stage, and maintained that this pretended Prince was not slain, but had escaped with a small Number of his Guards. Tho' the Cheat was manifest, yet some of the Lords adhered to him; and the *Cossacks*, encouraged by the Love of Plunder, and glad of any Pretext for Pillage, joined with him; and lastly, the Daughter of the Palatine of *Sandomir*, who with Difficulty had escaped out of her Prison at *Moscow*, loudly proclaimed him to be her Husband; but he had not the same good Fortune as the Person whom he represented, for he never came to the Throne, but was assassinated by the *Tartars*, who served him as his Guards.

1609. In the mean while *Sigismund*, by means of the  
1610. Troubles which the two pretended *Demetrius's* had raised in *Muscovy*, made considerable Conquests in the Country. The last served him as a Pretext for entering *Russia*. He raised a great Army, and marched against *Smolensko*, a City formerly belonging to *Poland*, but had been taken from them by the Czars ever since the Year 1514. The *Poles* had the first Advantage near *Clusin*, and beat an Army of 26000 *Muscovites*. The Town of *Zaroba* was then carried by *Sulcofs*, who commanded a Detachment of *Sigismund's* Army.

The Conquest  
of Smolensko  
by the Poles.

The Siege of *Smolensko* lasted near two Years, and there fell there 200000 *Muscovites*, either by the Sword of the Conqueror, or by Sickness.

This

This important Place was carried at last by Assault; the Province of *Severia* submitted to *Sigismond*, and the *Poles* already threatened the Capital of the *Russian* Empire, when the *Muscovites*, attributing their Misfortunes to the Prince that governed them, deposed *Swiski*, gave him up into the Hands of the King of *Poland*, and by the Advice of *Muscislas* Governor of *Moscow*, offered the Crown to *Ladislaus* the eldest Son of *Sigismond*.

1611.  
*Swiski deposed.*  
*Ladislaus Prince of Poland chosen by the Russians.*

This young Prince did not wear it long; for the *Muscovites* revolted almost in the Instant they had taken an Oath of Fidelity to their new Master. Whether it was through a natural Inconstancy, or that the Beginning of *Ladislaus's* Reign made them sensible of the Danger of being under the Dominion of a *Polish* Prince; but the whole Nation, by a general Conspiracy, took up Arms, and elected for Czar *Fæderowitz Romanos*, Son of the Patriarch *Theodorus*. *Fæderowitz* immediately laid Siege to *Moscow*, where there was a Garison of 7000 *Poles*. As the Place was of too large Extent to sustain a Siege, its Defenders seeing they were not in a Condition to preserve it, set fire to the City, and above 100000 Houses were consumed by the Fire, besides immense Riches. The *Poles* then retired into the Citadel, and made there a brave Resistance.

*They rebel against him, and lay Siege to Moscow.*

*Sigismond* might have succoured them, and his Glory engaged him to use his utmost Endeavours towards preserving so fine a Conquest; but he sent none but very faint Succours into *Moscow*, insomuch that the Garison of the Place besieged was obliged to capitulate, after having suffered the last Extremities.

*They take the Town,*

*Fæderowitz* made a right Use of these Advantages, and the Inactivity of the King of *Poland*. Having provided for the Security of his Capital City, he sat down before *Smolensko*, a Place of great



and Smo-  
lensko.

great Importance to either State. The Garifon was small, and the Losses the *Poles* had lately suffered, had lessened their Courage. The Place was carried by Assault, upon the first Attack, and the Garifon cut to pieces. From this Time forward *Sigismund's* Endeavours to restore his Affairs in *Russia*, proved of no Moment. He had let slip the favourable Opportunity, either of bringing the *Muscovites* under Subjection, or of gaining their Affections for ever, and the same Circumstances returned no more. It was in vain, that his Son *Ladislaus*, some Years after, marched into *Muscovy*, with a numerous Army. His Success was in no respect answerable to his Hopes, and he was obliged to return into *Poland*, and agree to a Truce of fourteen Years.

After so much Blood shed, so many Battles, Sieges, and Revolutions, what now was the Issue of these great Events? *Muscovy*, after having seen upon the Throne of its Princes the Assassin of the lawful Heir of the Crown, becomes the Sport of an infamous Impostor. Shaken to its very Foundations, and overspread with the Blood of the most illustrious *Boiars*, it becomes a Prey to the *Poles*, its mortal Enemies, and submits to the shameful Yoke of a supposititious *Demetrius Swiski* revenges its Quarrel, and reigns, but is in an Instant driven from the Throne, by the very same People who had just raised him to it. Another Impostor starts up, and occasions fresh Troubles and new Misfortunes. The Blood of the *Muscovites* streams down in every Quarter; *Smolensko* alone is the Grave of 200000 *Russians*; *Moscow* is taken; *Ladislaus* acknowledged as Czar, and in the same Breath deposed. There comes at last a thorough Alteration. The Misfortunes of *Russia* are no more. *Pederowitz* is elected. He repossesses his Capital, and extinguishes there

there the Fires which the *Poles* had kindled. They yield; they fly. *Smolensko* is carried by Assault, and *Sigismund*, after such great Advantages and so many Victories, can preserve no more than the Duchy of *Severia* and *Novogrod*.

*Bethleem Gabor*, having driven *Gabriel Battori* 1619. out of *Transilvania*, had made himself Master of <sup>War with the Turks</sup> all that Principality. The Troubles of *Bobemia* <sup>The Cause of it.</sup> furnished him next with a favourable Opportunity of gratifying his Ambition. He carried the War into *Hungary*, took *Cassow*, *Fillek*, and *Tirnaw*. In fine, becoming Master of *Presbourg*, he assumed the Title of *Prince of Hungary*. The *Bobemians*, who had revolted against the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and chose *Frederic* the Elector *Palatine* for their King, applied to the Prince of *Transilvania* for his Assistance, to support them against the Forces of *Ferdinand*, who, on his Side, implor'd the Succour of the King of *Poland*. *Sigismund* supplied the Emperor with 4000 *Cossacks*, by whose Means the Usurper *Frederic* was driven from the Throne. But the Part which the *Poles* had in this War, drew upon their Country the Arms of the *Ottomans*.

In short, *Gabor*, who was supported by the *Turks*, and had great Credit at the *Port*, accused *Gratiani* the Vaivode of *Moldavia*, of adhering to the *Poles*, who were allied to the House of *Austria*, though he was the Vassal and Tributary of the Sultan; and *Sander* the *Basha* had Orders to pass into *Moldavia*, and seize upon the Vaivode.

*Zolkienski* marched to the Succour of *Gratiani* with 8000 *Poles*; and though the Vaivode, who had promised to meet him with 14000 Horse, joined him only with 600 Men, he took the brave Resolution, either of conquering an Army of 70000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, or perishing in the At-

T

tempt.

1620.  
*A Battle  
 in Molda-  
 via.*

tempt. The first Action pass'd in *Moldavia*. Never was there an Engagement more bold and bloody. The *Poles* stood like an impenetrable Wall against the *Tartars*, who fell upon their Wings, and the *Janissaries*, who attack'd them in Front. The Courage and Address of the great General, and the good Order he caus'd to be observed in his Troops, counterbalanc'd the Advantage of Numbers, and the Infidels were the first who left off fighting. *Zolkienski* continued in the Field of Battle, and expected to renew the Action early the next Morning; but either thro' Cowardice, or Jealousy of Command, several of his principal Officers deserted him in the Night, and carried off with them 4000 of his Men, which were one half of his little Army, so that he saw himself under a Necessity of thinking of a Retreat. It was difficult to succeed in it in Presence of a courageous Enemy, whose Forces were infinitely superior. He attempted it nevertheless; and if he was not so fortunate as to meet with Success, he at least deserved all the Glory of it.

*Zolkien-  
 ski's Re-  
 treat.*

As soon as he was informed of the Desertion of his Troops, he formed a square Battalion of the faithful Soldiers that were left him, made a kind of moveable Entrenchment around them with his Chariots, and march'd in this Order to gain the *Niester*. He was within two or three Days Journey of *Mobilow*, the first Place of *Poland* on that Side; but he had the *Tartars* to resist, who were continually harassing him, and was under such a Necessity of avoiding the Woods and Mountains that lay in his Passage, that he was oblig'd to go a great Way about. In the Day-time he was forced to fight, and to march in the Night. On the first of *October*, the *Turks* attack'd him without any Success. Sheltered by his Wag-gons, he defended himself with so much Courage  
 and

and Address, and certain Field-pieces he had with him, fired so advantageously upon the Enemies Battalions, that he oblig'd them to retire. In short, he had already march'd eight Days, and was got within two Leagues of the *Niester*; he was within a Moment of compassing his Intentions, and his little Troop, after having braved an Army of near 80000 Men, were upon the Point of passing the River, when a panic Fright, which seized upon the Attendants of the Camp, made the brave *Zolkienfski* lose the Fruit of so much Dexterity, and so difficult a March. As the Night came on, the Valets observing some Mules a grazing, ran to catch them; but of a sudden imagining that the *Tartars*, who appear'd so terrible to them, lay in Ambush behind them, they took to their Heels, and set up so loud a Cry, that they spread Terror throughout the Camp. The like Dread seized upon the Soldiers, who streight fell into Confusion; and thus those brave *Poles*, who had lately made so stout a Resistance, were defeated, as I may say, by the Shadow of an Enemy, whom they had so often resolutely encountred Face to Face. The *Tartars*, informed of the Disorder, fell upon the scattered and affrighted Soldiers, and cut them to pieces, or made them Slaves. The courageous *Zolkienfski* was almost the only Person who ventured to dispute his Life; but after several very fruitless Efforts, he was at last overpower'd by Numbers. His Head was sent to *Constantinople*. The Conquerors then ravag'd *Podolia*; and that was all the Fruit they gained from a Victory, which was no otherwise considerable than by the brave Resistance of the Conquered.

But the Revenge of *Gabor*, who was the Spring 1621.  
of this War, was not hereby satisfied. He gain'd



*Osman Emperor of the Turks marches into Moldavia, with an Army of near 300000 Men.*

over the principal *Basha's* to his Party, and having drawn them into his Views, they on their Side engaged the Sultan in an Expedition, which according to all outward Appearance must have been attended with very fatal Consequences to *Poland*. *Osman* was then upon the Throne of the *Ottoman* Empire. Young and ambitious, he was bent wholly upon War, either through a natural Inclination, or for the sake of employing that dreadful Body of Troops, which, too apt to Mutiny when unemployed, might as easily dethrone him, as they had lately given him the Scepter they took from *Mustapha*. All *Turkey* was presently in Motion for the Preparations for this Campaign; and the Sultan in Person appeared early in the Spring upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, with an Army of 292000 Men. So formidable a Power seemed likely to swallow up *Poland*; but the *Ottoman* Armies are generally more numerous than terrible. *Charles Chotkiewitz*, the General who had already distinguished himself in the War against *Charles* of *Sunderland*, advanced towards *Moldavia* to defend the Frontiers. He was attacked by the Infidels, as he lay intrenched upon the Banks of the *Niester*, in an advantageous Situation, who, despising the small Number of his Troops, and encouraged by the Presence of their Emperor, used their utmost Efforts to force *Chotkiewitz* in his Lines, but were repulsed with a considerable Loss.

Whilst the *Poles* resisted with so much Bravery, their General died on the 27th of *September* at *Choczin*, and *Stanislaus Lubomirski* supplied his Place.

*The Cossacks join the Poles.*

The *Cossacks*, whose Ravages served also as a Pretext for the Invasion of the *Turks*, made haste to the Succour of *Poland*. The *Tartars* marched to meet them, and supported by a Detachment of  
*Turkish*

*Turkish* Foot, fell upon them in their March. The Passage was disputed for about eight Hours, and at last carried by the *Cossacks*, though inferior in Number. They then joined the *Polish* Army, and had a great Share in the happy Issue of this War.

On the 28th of *September*, *Osman* gave Orders for a general Attack, and marched himself against the Lines of the *Poles*. The Action began by Break of Day, and continued till the Night put an End to it. The *Turks*, continually repulsed, returned ten times to the Charge, with that Obstinacy which is natural to them. At last they retreated, leaving 25000 of their Men killed at the Foot of the Intrenchments. They had already lost in different Attacks above 60000 Men; their Army was daily lessened by the Sickness which raged in it; and their Provisions began to fail them. Thus the Sultan, losing all Hope of forcing the Camp, proposed a Conference, which was accepted; for the two Parties were both equally desirous of Peace; and if the *Turks* despaired of Success, the *Poles* were fatigued and stood in need of Refreshment. It was agreed, that the *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, who should henceforward commit any Ravages, should be severely punished: That the Sultan should nominate the Vaivode of *Moldavia*; but that none but a Christian Prince should be capable of enjoying that Principality; and lastly, that *Poland* should give up *Choczin*. This was the End of a War which alarmed all *Christendom*, and which threatened such fatal Consequences to *Poland*. *Sigismund* gave no other Occasion for it, than by his assisting the Emperor, who deserted him at last, and even refused him Leave to raise Forces out of *Germany*.

*The Sultan attacks the Camp to no Purpose.*

*A Treaty of Peace.*

Charles Duke of *Sunderland*, the Usurper of the Throne of *Sweden*, died in 1611, and was suc-

1612.

Gustavus  
Adolphus  
makes an  
Irruption  
into Livo-  
nia.

ceeded by his Son *Gustavus Adolphus*. This Prince took an Advantage of the Distance of the *Polish* Troops, to make an Irruption into *Livonia*, where after a Siege of six Weeks he took *Riga*. He then marched along the maritime Coasts of that Province, and carried his Conquests as far as *Dantzick*. *Sigismund* ought either to have recovered his usurped Patrimony, or have fallen with it; but too weak or too fearful to stand in Competition with a Prince, whose Intrepidity and Victories had given him the Title of the *Lion of the North*, he chose rather to consent to a Truce, which ended in 1625.

1626.  
He con-  
quers Prus-  
sia.

Upon the Expiration of this Truce, *Gustavus Adolphus*, through a Motive of Generosity and Justice, offered to divide with *Sigismund* the Title of King of *Sweden*, and consented that the Crown should pass to one of his Children. He even promised to restore *Livonia* to *Poland*, upon Condition that *Sigismund* should give up to him *Estonia* and *Finland*, which were shared betwixt him and *Charles* of *Sunderland*. But *Sigismund*, carrying his Pretensions farther, without being in a Condition to support them, indiscreetly refused such advantageous Offers. *Gustavus* then took the Field with an Army of 25000 Men, landed at *Blow*, and took *Elbing*, *Marienburg*, and several other Places in *Prussia*. *Kasammark* was the Grave of 3000 *Poles*, and the Engagement fought near that Place secured the Conquests of *Gustavus*. But the Battle of *Dantzick* had like to have proved fatal to him. This Prince, who perhaps was as rash as brave, exposed himself to the Enemies Fire like a common Soldier, and mounted the Breach in Person, to force the Intrenchments of the *Poles*, and he would have carried them, had he been less exposed: But a fortunate Blow saved *Poland*. *Gustavus*

*Gustavus* having received a Musket Shot, which grazed upon his Shoulder, and obliged him to retire, his Troops, whose Strength and Courage seemed wholly to depend upon the Presence of their King, lost Heart and retreated.

The Battle of *Marienverder* would have been still more fatal to him, if the *Poles* had known how to make a proper Use of the Advantages they had gained. *Gustavus Adolphus* threatened the Empire of *Germany* with an impending Invasion, and insisted upon the Restoration of the Protestant Princes, who had been deposed by the House of *Austria*. The Emperor *Ferdinand* began to be afraid of this young Conqueror, and to suspend the Course of so impetuous a Torrent, had sent a Supply of Troops to *Sigismund*. The *Poles* and *Germans* united together, got the better of *Gustavus*, who was far inferior to them in Strength; but their Misunderstandings gave him Time to recruit his Army, and revenge his Defeat.

In fine, a new Truce was agreed upon for six <sup>1629.</sup>  
Years to come, by the Mediation of the Kings of <sup>A six Years</sup>  
*England* and *France*. This Treaty was entirely <sup>Truce.</sup>  
in favour of the *Swedes*, who continued in Possession of the Towns of *Elbing*, *Memel*, *Braunsberg*, the Fort of *Pillaw*, and all their Conquests in *Livonia*. *Sigismund* did not live to see the Expiration of this Truce. Whilst all Places were filled with <sup>1632.</sup>  
the Sound of *Gustavus's* Victories, he, overwhelmed with Cares and Vexations, regretting what he had lost, and apprehensive of still greater Losses, died <sup>Sigism. III.</sup>  
in the Neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, sixty-six Years <sup>dies.</sup>  
old.

The Reign of this Prince was attended with very <sup>His Cha-</sup>  
singular Events. Chosen by the Lords to succeed <sup>racter.</sup>  
*Sigismund Augustus*, *Zamoski*, under his Protection, humbled the Pride of the House of *Austria*, and



drove his Competitor *Maximilian* from the Throne. Whilst the Master, and quiet Possessor of an Elective Kingdom, he lost his own Hereditary Dominions. His Head seem'd too weak to support the Weight of two Crowns. His Efforts against the Usurper *Charles* of *Sunderland*, were either too weak, or ill-directed. He could neither preserve his own Patrimony, nor even defend the Provinces of *Poland*. *Livonia*, in part possessed by the Usurper, was entirely conquered by *Gustavus Adolphus*, who farther took from him a Part of *Prussia*. *Gustavus* offer'd him an advantageous Accomodation ; but *Sigismund*, too much attach'd to his own Sentiments, and refusing to give up any of his Pretensions, could not obtain by Force what was freely offer'd, and was only expos'd to greater Losses. He had not Skill to make an Advantage of the Revolutions in *Muscovy* ; and when the *Muscovites*, tired out with the Losses they had sustain'd, had rais'd his Son *Ladislaus* to the Throne of *Russia*, he neither knew how to support him there, or to succour *Moscow*, or preserve *Smolensko*.

This Prince had notwithstanding great Virtues, and one may venture to say, that his very Faults were derived from a good Principle. If he lost *Sweden*, the Cause of it may be ascribed to his Zeal for the *Roman Catholic* Religion. If the Troubles of *Muscovy* were of little Service to him, the Reason was, that he too early declar'd his Design of introducing the Pope's Authority. The Alliance he contracted with the House of *Austria*, brought the *Ottoman* Arms into *Poland*, and fomented the War with *Sweden* ; but the Shock which the Sects, that divided *Germany*, had given to Religion, made him believe that his Union with the Emperor was necessary, for the Maintenance of the Faith of his Ancestors. And lastly,

lastly, too strict an Equity was the Rule by which he would be guided in the Dispute he had with *Gustavus*. He impolitickly did not consider, that *Gustavus* had the Affection of the *Swedes* on his Side, and a Crown in Possession. He was a King, and he look'd upon him as a Rebel Subject. As he was incapable of doing the least Injustice himself, he would not suffer it in another; and treating *Gustavus* as an Usurper, he insisted upon his giving up whatever his Father had usurped from him. Lastly, one may safely affirm, that if he had not reign'd in *Poland*, that Kingdom would not have lost *Livonia*, and he would have preserved *Sweden*. He died after having reigned forty Years.

His eldest Son *Ladislaus* was elected some Months after. It was apprehended at first, that *Gustavus*, cover'd with the Laurels he had reap'd in *Germany*, and the Glory of thirty Victories, would have declared himself a Candidate; and the Protestants, who were very numerous in the Kingdom, earnestly desired it; but he was too much taken up with the Care of his Conquests, and neglected their Suffrages.

The Queen, who was the second Wife of *Sigismund*, made some Attempts in favour of *John Cazimir* her Son, to the Prejudice of *Ladislaus*, the King's Son by a first Marriage. She had endeavoured, in the Life-time of the late King, to form a Party, and get *John Cazimir* declared the Heir of the Crown. Besides, there were false Reports spread abroad, that *Ladislaus* favour'd the novel Opinions, and the Clergy, upon this Account, at the opening of the Diet, shew'd but little Marks of Affection towards that Prince. But *John Cazimir*, through a Greatness of Soul perhaps without Example, and less jealous of his own rising than his Mother, who left no Stone unturn'd,

unturn'd, that might contribute to advance him to the Throne, broke all the Princeſs's Measures, and put himſelf at the Head of the Lords, who appear'd for his Brother. And thus *Ladiſlaus* was nominated King on the 13th of *November*, without Oppoſition, by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and then proclaim'd by the Grand Marshal. He was not crown'd till the Year following.

1634.  
A Victory  
over the  
Muscovites,  
attended  
with an ad-  
vantagous  
Treaty to  
Poland.

His coming to the Crown ſtands diſtinguiſhed by a great Victory he gain'd over the *Muscovites*. They were aſſembled in the Neighbourhood of *Smolensko*, from whence they made Irruptions upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. *Ladiſlaus*, who had learnt the Art of War in his Father's Reign, as well in *Muscovy* as in *Moldavia*, againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, march'd againſt the *Ruſſians*, drove them into Straits, and oblig'd their whole Army to ſurrender at Diſcretion. The *Turks* made a Diverſion, on the Side of *Moldavia*, in favour of the *Muscovites*, but to no Purpoſe. When he had conquered them, he march'd againſt the Infidels, and forc'd them to a Retreat. The Baſha, who commanded them, loſt his Head, either for his unſkilful Management, or his Aſſurance in acting contrary to Treaty, without the Authority of the Grand Signior. Theſe two Victories obtain'd an advantageous Peace for *Poland*. *Ladiſlaus* continued in Poſſeſſion of the Duchies of *Smolensko* and *Czarnibow*; and the *Turk*, who had made Trial of his Arms, and ſaw that this young Prince could not be attack'd with Impunity, grew afterwards a more religious Obſerver of Treaties.

1635.  
Another  
Treaty with  
Chriſtina  
Queen of  
Sweden.

The War, which the King made ſome Time after with *Sweden*, was no leſs glorious and uſeful to him. The famous *Gulſtavus Adolphus*, after having

having conquer'd almost all *Germany*, was slain at the Battle of *Lutzen*. Expiring in the Arms of Victory, he beat the *Imperialists*, or, as other Historians relate, his Troops, in a Rage for the Death of their Prince, reveng'd it by the entire Defeat of the Enemies Army. After his Death the *Swedish* Generals sustain'd, for some Time, the Glory of his Arms, surpriz'd *Leipsick*, took *Schlesstad*, *Colmar*, *Paderborn*, and defeated the *Imperialists* near *Hamelen*; but the Battle of *Stenaw*, and particularly that of *Nortblingue*, were disadvantageous to them, and made them lose a Part of their Conquests. They must have even fallen under the Power of the House of *Austria*, if they had not been supported by *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*.

In these Circumstances *Sweden*, governed by *Christina* the Daughter of *Gustavus Adolphus*, was apprehensive of the Arms of *Ladislaus*. With a View to appease this powerful Neighbour, who was preparing to make war upon her, to recover what his Father had lost, she offer'd a Treaty, as necessary to *Sweden* as advantageous to *Poland*. The Truce was continued for six and twenty Years; *Prussia* was restor'd, and the Decision of the Claims to the several Branches of *Livonia* suspended.

The *Cossacks* were under the Protection of *Po-*  
land, and defended the Frontiers against the In-  
vasions of *Turks* and *Tartars*. King *Stephen Bat-*  
*tori*, who knew the Usefulness of that Militia,  
had given them Lands, and granted them Privi-  
leges for the Security of their Liberty and Reli-  
gion. But *Ukrania*, which they inhabited, be-  
coming the Refuge of an infinite Number of  
*Polish* Peasants, who, harrassed with the Exactions  
and Drudgery which the Gentry required  
from them, had joined the *Cossacks*, and enjoy'd  
with

*The Causes  
of the War  
with the  
Cossacks.*



with them the like Immunities, certain of the Lords demanded back their Vassals; and the *Cossacks* refusing to give up those unhappy Wretches, an Attempt was made upon the Privileges of that Nation, and a Scheme laid to reduce them to an equal Slavery with that of the *Polish* Peasants. And hence arose that long and cruel War, which reduced the Kingdom to the last Brink of Ruin.

*The Poles  
enter Ukra-  
nia.*

*Konielposki* first enter'd *Ukrania* with an armed Force, and rais'd the Fort of *Kudac* upon the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, to overawe those untractable People into the Observance of their Duty. Upon sight of that Fort, which threaten'd their Liberty, they took up Arms; but their first Efforts were unsuccessful, and they were oblig'd to submit. An Amnesty was granted them; but the Conditions of it were not observ'd. *Pauluk* their General, and the Chief of the Nation, were taken up and beheaded, contrary to the Articles agreed upon. Instead of withdrawing the Troops that were in their Country, additional Forces were sent thither; and in a Diet held upon this Occasion, it was decreed, that all their Privileges should be suppress'd and extinguish'd, and the Fort of *Tretimirow*, which King *Stephen* had given them, be taken from them.

*They are  
beaten.*

Pursuant to this Resolution, the *Polish* Army march'd to that Place, with a Design to besiege it; but the Inhabitants of the Country vigorously repuls'd them, and oblig'd them to retreat. Yet, without any Design of revolting from their Obedience to the King of *Poland*, they meant only to preserve their Liberty under the Protection of the Prince, whom their Ancestors had obeyed. Thus, though Conquerors, they offer'd to submit, provided their Immunities might be confirm'd to them, and protest'd, that upon that

Condition

Condition they would never swerve from the Allegiance they had sworn. So long as they were in Arms, and the *Poles* were afraid of them, they suffered them to be quiet, and fed them with fine Promises ; but as soon as they were return'd to their own Houses, the *Polish* Lords committed a thousand Outrages in *Ukrania*, sent Detachments thither to take up Prisoners, took away the *Greek* Churches from the *Cossacks*, which they had in Possession, and by their Injuries drove a Warlike Nation into Extremities, which they ought rather to have sooth'd, if they had consider'd the true Interest of the Republic.

The *Cossacks* were headed by a brave General, 1648.  
 who was push'd on by a Thirst of Revenge, for The Origin of Kmielniski General of the Cossacks. Bogdan Kmielniski was the Man under whose Connuct they asserted their Liberty, after having shaken the Kingdom of *Poland* to its very Foundations. He was originally a Native of *Lithuania*, and his Father coming to reside in *Ukrania*, he was carried off by the *Tartars*. Redeem'd by his Mother, he return'd into his own Country, where he was almost a Stranger, and cultivated the Lands which his Father had left him near *Czebrin*. He afterwards added a Piece of waste Ground to his paternal Estate, and clear'd it of the Bushes which grew upon it. This inconsiderable Circumstance was notwithstanding the Cause of the Flame which spread itself over all *Poland*. In short, *Czaplinski* the Governor of *Czebrin* seizing upon the waste Ground which *Kmielniski* had appropriated to his own Use, the latter complain'd of it to *Ladislaus*, who adjudging the Lands to the *Polish* Officer, allow'd the *Cossack* but a small Acknowledgment for the Pains he had been at in cultivating them. *Kmielniski* return'd home, complain'd

plain'd of the unjust Judgment which had been given against him, and behav'd so roughly towards the King's Lieutenant, that he caus'd him to be taken up, and condemn'd him to be publickly whipp'd. Some Historians add, that *Czapinski* seiz'd upon his Wife, ravish'd, and then caus'd both her and her Son to be slain. However this be, the *Cossack* left *Czebrin* in a Rage, and sheltered himself in the Islands of the *Boristhenes*, where he stirr'd up the whole Nation to a Revolt, and plac'd himself at the Head of their Troops.

*Poland* was in this Situation, and expos'd to the Dangers of a bloody War, when, as a finishing Stroke to its Misfortunes, the King was carried off by an untimely Death. *Ladislaus VI.* died without Children at *Merets* in *Lituania* in the fifty-third Year of his Age, and the 17th of his Reign.

*Ladislaus dies.*

*The Irruption of the Cossacks.*

Upon his Death, the Barrier which restrain'd the *Cossacks* was remov'd, and they gave a Loose to their Fury during the Interregnum. *Knielniski* that plain Country Fellow, shew'd a Prudence and Courage capable of doing Honour to the greatest Generals. He had Skill enough to conquer that inveterate Hatred, which his Nation bore towards the *Tartars*, and made a Treaty with those People, who had ever been at Enmity with *Ukrania*. With them he march'd against the Grand General *Potoski*, defeated him in the Neighbourhood of *Korsun*, put to flight a second Army of *Poles* near *Constantincw* in *Wolbinia*, and then over-ran *Podolia* and *Russia*. *Leopold* escap'd being plunder'd, by paying a Sum of Money for its Ransom. All the Gentlemen who fell into their Hands were put to the Sword, and they were the happiest who escap'd only with the Loss of their Estates. The Terror of their Arms was

fo

so universal, that the Capital of the Kingdom did not think itself secure, and the Regal Ornaments were remov'd from thence, that they might be preserv'd from the Incursions of the Rebels. Their Ravages made vast Solitudes of the Provinces, which were formerly so well peopled on the Side of *Muscovy* and *Tartary*, and which remain at this Day almost without Inhabitants.

The Diet assembled at *Warsaw* grew very much afraid of them; and some of the Lords, either more cowardly, or more cautious than the rest, propos'd the Translation of the Assembly to *Dantzick*. These Fears were not ill-grounded; and had it not been for a happy Misfortune, they would have doubtless been oblig'd to yield to those sage Remonstrances. In short, *Kmielniski* making the best Use of his Advantages, and advancing as far as *Pilavi*, gain'd another Victory over the *Poles*, and made himself Master of their Camp, where he found a Booty that was valu'd at six Millions. This Loss was the Safety of *Poland*. The *Tartars* came in with all the Haste they could, in Expectation of a Share in the Spoils; but as they had not been concern'd in sharing the Danger, the *Cossacks* refus'd them their Portion of the Booty; and fearing they should attempt to take it from them by Violence, they withdrew into *Ukrania*.

The Diet then finding themselves secure from Danger, enter'd upon Measures to put a stop to the Progress of the Rebels, and give an End to a fatal Interregnum. Upon the first Head, they order'd fresh Forces to be levied, and to make the Recruits more easy; the Clergy contributed one Half of their Revenues. As to the Election, *George Ragotski*, Prince of *Transylvania*, appear'd as a Candidate at the Head of 30000 Men to serve against the *Cossacks*, in case he was chosen; or to join



join with them, if his Offers were refus'd. The Czar of *Muscovy* spoke in higher Terms, and resolv'd to make himself Master of a Crown by open Force, which he ought to have expected from the free Choice of the Nation. But they laugh'd at the Menaces of these two Pretenders, and their Manner of making their Claim cut them off immediately from all Hopes of Success.

*John Cazimir*, the late King's Brother, had the greatest Number of Voices; but *Stanislaus Zaremha* Bishop of *Kiow*, whose Ambition flatter'd him with the Hopes of the Archbishoprick of *Gnesna*, rais'd him up a dangerous Competitor. By the Advice of this Prelate, *Charles Ferdinand* Bishop of *Breslaw* and *Plosko*, and the youngest Son of *Sigismund III.* form'd a Faction in Opposition to that of *John Cazimir* his Brother. He was at first supported by *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*, who solicited in his Favour, and strove to put the Crown upon his Head, for this only Reason, because he was incapable of bearing it. *Christina's* Policy made her afraid of having too able a Prince for her Neighbour.

*John Cazimir* had been a Jesuit; and to disengage him from the Vows he had made in that Society, the Pope had given him a Cardinal's Cap. But this Circumstance had like to have excluded him the Throne. The Jesuits, out of Zeal against the Gospellers, had rais'd great Commotions in the last Reign, and the Hatred which some of the Lords bore to that whole Body, fell heavy upon a Prince, who had once been a Member of it. But what the Bishop of *Kiow*, and the Protestants with whom he join'd, judg'd a sufficient Reason for his Exclusion, was a Motive which engag'd the *Roman* Catholicks, who were fully assur'd of his Piety and Religion, to adhere the more firmly to him, and to urge his Election with the greater Zeal.

The

The Bishop of *Samogitia* spoke in his Behalf with so much Force, and remov'd so perfectly well all the Suspicions of Partiality, which the Vows of *Cazimir* had occasion'd, that he overturn'd at once the Faction of *Charles Ferdinand*, and in an Instant brought them over to his Brother's Side. The Sollicitations of the Pope's Nuncio, and the Ambassador of *France*, fix'd the greatest Part of the Deputies. And lastly, the Queen of *Sweden*, when inform'd of the Engagements which the Bishop of *Breslaw* had made with the House of *Austria*, declared against him. And thus his Competitor was chosen by a general Consent, on the 20th of *November*, and crown'd the 17th of *January* following.

The War against the *Cossacks* was by no means approv'd of by the new King; and if he might have been heard, a Peace would have been made, and the Fury of those People appeas'd by a Treaty. But the whole Body of the *Polish* Nobility were of a different Opinion. Some of them, thro' Motives of Avarice, and the Hopes of bringing the Peasants into Subjection; and others, under a Pretence of revenging the Injuries offered to the Republic by the Insurrection of those Robbers, insisted upon taking the Field. The King, who was well acquainted with the true Interests of the State, was inflexible in his Sentiments; insomuch that the Nobility, by a Scission which prov'd fatal to them, rais'd Troops of themselves without the King's Consent, and march'd into *Ukrania*.

*Kmielniski* had foreseen the Storm, and prepar'd against it. Three hundred and forty thousand Men march'd under his Standard, and the Cham himself was come in Person to his Assistance. What could nine Thousand *Poles* do against so formidable an Army? Block'd up in *Zbarras*, they defended

U

them-

*John Cazi-  
mir chosen.*

1649.  
*He disap-  
proves of the  
War against  
the Cossacks.*

*The Poles  
are defeated.*

themselves there with Courage; and if they had met with Rebels only to encounter, they might have made them give way. But their Provisions fell short; and the Famine was so great amongst them, that they ate their Horses, for want of other Victuals. In this Condition, when ready to sink under the Burden of so many Misfortunes, fatigu'd with the Attacks of the Enemy, press'd with Hunger, without Force, and supported only by their Valour, they implor'd the Assistance of their King, who, though he disapprov'd of their Proceeding, thought himself oblig'd to fly to their Succour. The Cham and *Kmielniski* march'd out to meet him with 110000 Men. *Cazimir* had but 20000; but then they were the bravest Spirits in all *Poland*.

*A Treaty of Peace.*

The *Tartars* attack'd his Camp near *Zborow* to no Purpose, for three whole Days together. Their Losses made them tractable; and some Overtures were offer'd towards an Accommodation. The King promis'd to pay the Cham the Subsidies, or annual Pensions, which formerly were given him, and *Ladislaus VI.* had suppress'd. The *Cossacks* obtain'd an Act of Indemnity, and the Confirmation of their Privileges. The Number of their Militia was augmented, and the free Exercise of the Religion of the *Greek Church* was allow'd throughout all *Ukrania*. The Cham, on his Side, swore to look after the Frontiers of *Poland*, and defend them in case of Necessity; and *Kmielniski* likewise promis'd that the *Cossacks* should keep firmly to the Allegiance they ow'd the Republic.

1651.  
*The War renew'd.*

But this Peace was of no long Continuance. The Peasants, who did not make Part of the Militia, would not submit to their Lords, nor allow them to take Possession again of their Estates.

Estates. They learnt besides, that their General *Kmielniski* had apply'd to the Sultan, and sought to form under his Protection an independent Principality in *Ukrania*, and along the Banks of the *Borysthenes*.

*John Cazimir*, upon Information that the *Cossacks*, whose Cause he first thought to be just, were dispos'd to revolt, then judg'd that the whole Republic was interested in the War. He therefore rais'd an Army of 100000 Men, and routed at once 300000 *Tartars* near *Bereteskow*. Some few Days after a panic Fright seiz'd upon the *Cossacks*, and threw them into Disorder. *Bobun Kmielniski's* Lieutenant, marching out of his Camp with a Detachment of the antient Militia, to fall upon the Palatine of *Braclaw*, who appear'd with a Body of 2000 Men, the whole Tabor in a Consternation, thought their General was about to desert them, and took to their Heels in the utmost Confusion.

Astonish'd with this Loss, the *Cossacks* desired a Peace, and obtain'd it. *Kmielniski* likewise obtain'd Pardon for his Rebellion; but the *Zaporovian* Militia was reduc'd to 20000 Men. This Treaty subsisted no longer, than till the perfidious *Cossack* thought himself in a Condition to break it with Safety.

In short, the *Muscovites* seeing the *Poles* engag'd with their Rebel Subjects, and embarrass'd enough with repelling their Attacks, took an Advantage from that troublesome Circumstance, and enter'd *Lithuania* on the Side of *Smolensko*. *Kmielniski* immediately detach'd a Body of the Troops under his Command, with Orders to join the *Russians*, who gain'd from thence a considerable Benefit, whilst another Body of *Cossacks* and *Tartars* ravag'd *Poland* on the opposite Side.



1655.  
*War with  
 Charles Gu-  
 stavus King  
 of Sweden.*

*Christina* Queen of *Sweden*, the Daughter of the great *Gustavus*, had abdicated the Crown, and plac'd it upon the Head of her Cousin *Charles Gustavus*. He was scarce upon the Throne before he became an Enemy to the Republic of *Poland*, and gave the finishing Stroke to the Miseries of that Kingdom, which was already torn to pieces by innumerable Armies of Rebels and Robbers. Certain discontented Lords call'd in *Charles Gustavus* to support their Faction, and introduc'd a Fire into their Country, which narrowly escap'd consuming it. 'Twas in vain that *France* interpos'd its Mediation to bring Matters to an Accommodation; the King of *Sweden*, jealous of the Glory of the great *Gustavus*, and desirous to efface it, if possible, had laid a Scheme for the Conquest of *Poland*, and found Pretences enough for declaring War against it.

*He conquers  
 the greatest  
 Part of Po-  
 land.*

He therefore enter'd the Kingdom, and was join'd by the Malcontents, who enlarg'd his Army already made up of excellent Soldiers. He presently became Master of *Great Poland*, and subdu'd all *Mazovia*. *Cracow* was besieg'd, and made but a weak Defence. The Conqueror enters the Capital of the Kingdom, and compels the unfortunate *Cazimir*, who was without Troops, without Money, deserted both by the Nobility and Army, to seek an *Asylum* in *Silesia*. *Charles* then passes into *Prussia*, and meets with so little Opposition, that he seem'd to march thro' an open Country already subject to his Dominion. *Dantzick* alone, encouraged by the lively Exhortations of some of its Preachers, continued faithful to its Prince, and shut the Gates against the *Swedes*.

The other Towns, animated by the Example of *Dantzick*, stood amaz'd at the prodigious Successes of the *Swedish* Arms, and to see themselves all

all at once subjected to a foreign Yoke. The Contributions exacted by *Charles Gustavus*, and an Imposition of fifteen *Timphes* upon every Chimney, raised a general Revolt in a free Nation, which was ever averse to Tyranny and Bondage. They could not consent to become tributary to the *Swedes*, and took the brave and noble Resolution of shaking off their Chains. The Nobility join'd together, and rais'd an Army. *Cazimir* puts himself at their Head, and by his Presence excites that natural Affection the *Poles* bear to their Prince, and the Hatred which always follows the Person of an Usurper. In this first Heat, their General *Czarnecki* surpriz'd the *Swedish* Troops near *Jaroslaw*, defeated them, and became Master of their Baggage. They were next driven out of *Warsaw*. Fortune began to declare in favour of an unhappy People, when an unlucky Accident had like to have plung'd them again into fresh Misfortunes.

*Charles Gustavus*, having made a Treaty with the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, in which it was stipulated, that the Elector should enjoy an absolute Power in *Ducal Prussia*, his Subjects join'd with their new Ally, and the *Swedes*, strengthen'd by this additional Force, march'd straight to *Warsaw*, with Design to recover it. The *Poles* did all that was possible to preserve that City; the Contest lasted three Days, and the Bravery of the Defenders kept the Victory a long Time in Suspence, which inclin'd to the Side of *Sweden*. *Charles* carried it at last; and the Slaughter was the more dreadful, as the Conquest was so long disputed. *Warsaw* became the Prize of the Victory.

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*The Poles defeated near Warsaw.*

*Ragotski enters Poland.*



tated Revenge for his Exclusion from the Throne, upon the last Election. He therefore declar'd for the *Swedes*, and flatter'd himself, that in this low Estate of the Republic, he might be able to dethrone *Cazimir*, and raise himself upon his Ruins. *Ragotski* had an Army of 30000 Men, and 'tis possible his ambitious Projects might have succeeded, if he would have follow'd the Counsels of the King of *Sweden*, who had advised him to enter *Poland* by the Palatinate of *Bressici*, where all would have been favourable to him, and wait for the coming up of the *Swedes*. But *Ragotski*, blinded by the Promises of *Dabricius* an Astrologer, who had flattered him with the Hope of a certain Conquest, thought, that on whatever Side he should enter *Poland*, he should still be victorious.

The sad  
State of the  
Kingdom.

Every Thing seem'd to conspire to the Detriment of this Republic, which, though formerly in so flourishing a Condition, appear'd then to be upon the Brink of Ruin. The King of *Sweden* had scarce any thing left to conquer. *Prussia*, the greater *Poland*, *Cracow*, *Warsaw*, the two principal Cities of the State, were subject to him. The *Muscovite* was Master of *Vilna*, and almost all *Lithuania*; and though he oppos'd the *Swedes* indeed in *Livonia*, yet he was still an Enemy to the *Poles*, and fortified himself upon their Frontiers. *Ragotski* attempted to raise himself to the Throne by an armed Force, and to ravish from the Nation that Liberty they had always claim'd of chusing their Kings. Lastly, the *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, whose Ravages are ever attended with the most horrible Cruelties, those Robbers, who carry off both Men and Goods, and whose Footsteps are ever mark'd with Traces of Blood and Fire, were the least of their Enemies.

'Twas

'Twas to these very Miseries themselves that *Poland* ow'd its Preservation from an intire Ruin, as its Calamities rais'd them up Avengers. The whole North in Amaze trembled for their Liberty, and thought they had seen a second *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Charles*. *Denmark* was the first that appear'd to oppose the Progress of so formidable a Power. *Muscovy* join'd with him; the *Imperialists* increas'd the Army of *Lubormiski*, and the *Dutch* sent a Squadron into the *Baltic*, to preserve *Dantzick*.

*Denmark and Holland declare War against Charles Gustavus.*

*Ragotski* was presently put out of a Condition of fighting. The *Walachians* and *Moldavians* deserted him by the express Order of the Sultan, who disapprov'd of this Enterprize of the Prince of *Transilvania*. After this Desertion, it was easy for the *Poles* to defeat him. He was beaten near *Sandomir*, where he attempted to pass the *Vistula*, and lost in his March, and the Battle, 14000 of his Men, with all his Artillery. They then came to a Treaty, and it was agreed, that *Ragotski* should ask Pardon of the King of *Poland*, that he should break the Engagement he had made with the King of *Sweden*, and furnish a certain Number of Troops, whenever it was required of him. But this Defeat, and this dishonourable Treaty, were not the End of his Misfortunes. The Sultan, enrag'd that he should enter *Poland* against the express Orders of the *Porte*, enjoin'd the *Transilvanians* to make Choice of another *Vaivode*. 'Twas in vain he implor'd the Succour of the Emperor; after several Engagements with his Competitors, he was beaten by the *Turks* near *Hermstad*, and soon after died of his Wounds.

*Ragotski defeated.*

*Charles Gustavus* was almost as unfortunate. 1658. *Frederic*, King of *Denmark*, having declared War against him, made so powerful a Diversion

*The King of Sweden defeated.*

in favour of *Poland*, that he oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to desist from his Project, in order to defend his own Dominions. *Charles Gustavus* had indeed very great Advantages in the Beginning of this War. That Prince, whose Courage might have been term'd Rashness, if Success had not justified his Actions, encounter'd the Depths of the Sea, which might have opened under his Feet, and lead his Army across the Ice into *Zeland*, to lay Siege to *Copenhagen*. Peace was then made to the Disadvantage of *Frederic*; but it did not last long. By this Treaty the two Kings were to shut up the Mouth of the *Baltic*, and not suffer any foreign Vessels to pass through it. The King of *Denmark*, at the Sollicitation of the *Dutch*, who promised him a powerful Assistance, refus'd to observe this Article; and upon this Pretext the War was renew'd.

1659. The *Dutch* kept their Word with *Frederic*, and those two Powers united together, at last humbled the Pride of the haughty *Charles Gustavus*. The *Dutch* Fleet beat Admiral *Wrangel* at the Mouth of the *Sound*, who presum'd not any longer to keep the Sea, but retired into his Ports. The *Swedes* at last, after having been repuls'd before *Copenhagen*, were defeated in the Isle of *Funen*, and oblig'd to sue for Peace. This was a finishing Stroke to the King of *Sweden*. He, who till then had been a Conqueror, and given Laws to all his Neighbours, and was now conquer'd and oblig'd to receive it from them, could not survive the Defeat. The Sickness of which he died, was imputed to the Vexation which this Turn of Fortune had given him. The Rival of the great *Gustavus*, but less fortunate, though possess'd perhaps of equal Courage and Ability.

John

*John Cazimir* in the mean time had recover'd 1660. almost all the Places which *Charles Gustavus* had taken from him. *Cracow* and its Citadel were reduc'd to the Obedience of their natural Prince in 1657. Soon after, the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had join'd with his Neighbours, and concluded a League, Offensive and Defensive, against the *Swedes* his former Allies. Lastly, *Thorn* and the greatest Part of *Prussia* had shook off the Yoke : and a Treaty concluded this Year with *Sweden*, had put *Cazimir* again into Possession of all the rest. *Charles XI.* the Son and Successor of *Charles Gustavus*, gave back all the Conquests his Father had made ; and *Cazimir*, on his Side, renounced all Claim to the Crown of *Sweden*. However well grounded his Pretensions were, they were become usefess ; and by parting with nothing real, he gain'd a great deal.

As soon as the *Poles* were freed from any Apprehension of the *Swedish* Arms, they thought of revenging the Injuries they had suffered from the *Muscovites*. *Czarnefski* and *Sapieba* cut off 26000 of them not far from *Polanski*. Ten Thousand more perish'd in the Plains of *Glembokia*, which were left upon the Field of Battle. *Cazimir* then besieg'd *Vilna*, the Capital of *Lithuania*, which the *Russians* had conquered. The City was easily carried ; but the Castle made a stout Resistance.

This Siege was equally fatal to *Cazimir* and the *Poles*, by the Division which arose between the King and his Subjects. A Part of the Army revolted, and chose Prince *Lubormiski* for their General. These Misunderstandings delay'd the Attacks, and made the Siege more long and bloody. Peace was not made with the Czar till some Years after.



1665.  
Divisions  
between the  
King and the  
Nobility.

The Divisions, which had lately broke out, were carried on to such Extremities, that the Republic soon saw two opposite Parties within its own Bosom ready to rend it in Pieces. *Cazimir* rais'd Troops; and the Rebels and *Lubormiski* arm'd on their Side. The *Poles* were upon the Point of coming to Blows, when the principal Heads of the revolting Party, repenting of what they had done, threw themselves at the King's Feet, and beg'd his Pardon; but these Submissions were not sincere. The Nobility forgot the Respect they ow'd to the sacred Person of the Prince, who govern'd them; and *Cazimir*, unable to support the Weight of so many Cares, and naturally inclin'd to Repose, abdicated the Crown in the Diet of *Warsaw*, and retired the next Year into *France*, where King *Lewis XIV.* gave him the Abbey of *St. Germain des Prés*. He died at *Revers* in 1672.

1668.  
*Cazimir's*  
Abdication.  
His Character.

This Prince, who was mild, affable and polite, but irresolute in his Designs, fearful, and almost constantly unfortunate, liv'd to see his Neighbours in Arms, and his Subjects in Rebellion against him. When *Charles Gustavus* entred *Poland*, *John Cazimir* fled into *Silesia*. His Character was shewn still more in the Revolt of *Lubormiski*. 'Tis always a Reproach upon a Prince to resign a Crown, unless the Abdication appears to be altogether voluntary. To pass a right Judgment upon this Fact, it may not be amiss to see what Sentiments the *Poles* had of it then. "Why, says *Cazimir Zawardski*, the Starost of *Culm*, in his secret History, "Why did *John Cazimir* renounce  
"the Sceptre, which he had before so earnestly  
"sought after? *Poland* stood in Amaze at the  
"View of such a Step, as seem'd to point out  
the

“ the Funeral of its Liberties. It looked as if  
 “ the King had foreseen the Fall of the *Polish*  
 “ Empire, and retired, lest he should be over-  
 “ whelmed in its Ruins. This dishonourable  
 “ Apprehension was urged as the Cause of his  
 “ Retreat. He was in a Condition to support the  
 “ Cares of the Government, as he was still sen-  
 “ sible of Pleasures. It seemed as if he looked  
 “ upon his Subjects as his Enemies, and that he  
 “ fled like a conquered Prince, driven out of  
 “ his Dominions.”

The Abdication of *Cazimir*, producing an *In-terregnum*, the Nobility took up Arms, and came by Squadrons into the Field of Election. But this Precaution, which they had used only to prevent caballing, had like to have been fatal to them; for, carried away by the impetuous Caprice of different Factions, they rose against the Senate, and were seen to turn those very Arms against the principal Lords, which they had taken up to defend the Liberty of their Suffrages.

*The Polipolite  
 meets to  
 elect a King.*

*Stanislaus Prasmonski*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and 1669.  
 Primate, fixed the Opening of the General Diet to the second of May. The Great Duke of *Muscovy* first demanded the Crown for his eldest Son. An Army of 80000 Men waited for the Answer of the *Poles* upon the Frontiers, and were ready to fall upon them, if they did not elect the Prince of *Russia*. In case of his Election, the Czar promised to restore *Kiow* and all the other Towns he had conquered; to maintain an Army of 20000 Men for the Service of the Republic, and to pay ten Millions into the Treasury. These fine Promises had little Effect upon the *Poles*; the Menaces which came along with them, made a greater Impression. As they were not in a Condition to resist, they had Recourse to Dissimulation.

*Cabals of  
 the several  
 Pretenders to  
 the Crown.*

tion. *Pac*, High Chancellor of *Lithuania*, assured the Czar of the good Will and Inclination of the *Poles* towards the Prince his Son, and gave him Hopes that he would be elected, provided he could resolve to renounce the *Greek Church*.

The Czar, who was more guided by his Ambition, than influenced by his Religion, soon removed that Obstacle, and the *Muscovite* Bishops declared, that as the Intention of the Candidate in contending for the Crown of *Poland*, was only that he might be able to strike a greater Terror into the common Enemy of all Christendom, he might lawfully conform to the *Latin Church*.

Thus the *Poles*, in Apprehension of a Rupture, which might have been of bad Consequence to them, strove to gain Time, and allured the Czar with specious Promises, without meaning to keep any one of them.

The Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Newburg*, and Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, appeared upon the List, and each of these three Competitors had their several Factions. *Oborski* Starost of *Warsaw* supported the Interest of the Prince of *Condé*, and his Faction flattered themselves they should carry it before all the rest. But on the twenty-eighth of *May*, the Standard-Bearer of the Palatinate of *Sendomir*, of the Faction of the *Piastes*, having obtained Leave to speak, broke out into a severe Invective against *Oborski*, and charged him with betraying the Liberty of the Nation, and selling his Voice. They even produced Letters, by which it appeared, that on the twenty-fifth of the same Month, the Primate and twelve Lords, whom they called the vile Slaves of the *French* Ambition, had held a private Meeting, in favour of the Prince of *Condé*, and that the Senate meant to carry the Election, to the Prejudice of the Gentlemen of an inferior Rank.

Upon

Exclusion of  
the Prince of  
Condé.

Upon reading these Letters, the whole Assembly broke out into a Rage; they raised their Sabres, and with threatening Voices demanded the Trial of *Oborski*. That Lord, in a terrible Fright, turned pale, and attempted to make his Escape; but they kept him there against his Inclination, and obliged him to swear that he would no longer adhere to the Party of the *French Prince*, but declare that he looked upon him as incapable of wearing the Crown.

Some few Days after, the Nobility require the Primate to pronounce the Exclusion of the Prince of *Condé*. The whole Senate was in a Consternation at such a Proposal. But the Primate thought to elude it, by saying, that if the Nobility expected a Decision of the whole Senate, they must be called together; but if they asked only for his particular Declaration, he was ready to consent to the Election of any Person who should have the Suffrages of the whole Nation. The Bishop of *Warmia*, the Palatines of *Kiow*, *Culm*, and *Pomerania* appeared to be of the same Sentiments with the Primate, and the Grand Marshal of the Crown said aloud, That if the Nobility took upon them to proscribe so tumultuously a Candidate of so high a Character, he would quit his Post and retire.

The Resolution of these Lords did not appease the Tumult: The Primate, forced by the Cries and Menaces of the meaner Gentlemen, who were most of them Persons of no Distinction, but jealous of their Privileges, and capable of defending them by Violence, said at last, *I exclude him then, since they will have it so*. Compelled to quit the Party of the Prince of *Condé*, but preserving still a strong Inclination towards him, he could not pronounce his Name in that fatal Judgment. Thus were all the Hopes of the *French Prince*



Prince cut off at once, and no one durst afterwards attempt to do any thing in his favour.

*The Cabal of  
the Duke of  
Newburg.*

The Diet growing more calm, then gave Audience to the Emperor's Ambassador. This Minister spoke in behalf of *Philip William Duke of Newburg*, and desired the *Poles* to shew a proper Regard to the Merit of that Prince. The Envoy of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* joined with him, and the King of *England* wrote likewise to the Republic in his favour. As to the Candidate himself, he made prodigious Promises; but as they surpassed his Abilities, it was thought he neither could, nor even ever designed to perform them. Besides, tho' his Merit was great, he was a *German*, and of a Nation by no means agreeable to the *Poles*; and the Emperor's Recommendation was rather disserviceable than beneficial to him. It is likewise said, that though the Imperial Minister proposed him as a Candidate, and publicly espoused his Interest, yet he privately recommended *Charles of Lorraine*.

*And of  
Charles of  
Lorraine.*

The old Duke exhausted his Treasures, and bestowed them very profusely among the greedy *Poles*. They fed him with fair Promises, and so long as his Money lasted, his Cabal was considerable, and had even the upper hand of the Duke of *Newburg's*; but when that Source was drained, his Party sunk, and gave way to the Faction of the *Piastes*.

*The Faction  
of the Piastes.  
They attack  
the Senate.*

The Nobility, impatient at the Length of the Diet, and suspecting the Senate, murmured in every Quarter. The principal Lords narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the Rage of the Multitude. The Soldiers, who guarded the Doors of the *Colo*, discharged their Musquets into the Place of Election, and the Shot fell among the Bishops and Palatines. To avoid the Danger, some hid themselves under their Seats, and others

took

took to their Heels. The Bishop of *Plosko*, *Le-  
czinski*, and the Castellán of *Poznań*, got off with  
Difficulty: Two other Lords were slain; a third  
was shot through the Hand. The Seditious fol-  
lowed after those who left the *Colo*, and treated  
them very roughly: The whole Senate was dis-  
persed, and in the utmost Danger.

*Opalinski* Palatine of *Kalisz* appeased this Disor-  
der. Having called the Gentlemen together, he  
addressed himself to them to this Effect. "To  
" what end, says he, should we thus fall foul  
" upon one another, for Princes we are so little  
" acquainted with? After they are chosen, will  
" they think themselves obliged to us for our  
" Suffrages, or take any Notice of those, whose  
" Voices have raised them to the Throne? Let us  
" rather consider our true Interest, and with-  
" out devouring one another, let us chuse out  
" from amongst ourselves a Man, worthy to  
" command over the whole Nation. Have we  
" no Members of the Republic, who are capable  
" of governing it? Or can we, without Dishonour,  
" seek for Kings amongst Foreigners, as if we  
" could find none deserving amongst ourselves?"

Those who had a Mind to get all they could,  
before they proceeded to an Election, opposed  
*Opalinski*. Amongst others, the Palatinate of *Po-  
dolia* demanded, that they should first provide for  
the Security of *Kaminiec*; but their Remonstrances  
were not regarded. One and twenty Palatinates  
declared for a *Piasze*, and nominated some few  
Days after *Michael Coribut Wiesznowski*. The great-  
est Opposition was from the *Lithuanians*, who had  
no Share in that Choice; but the Blood of one of  
their Deputies, who was cut to pieces before their  
Eyes, imposed Silence upon the rest, and all con-  
curred to the Proclamation of the Prince elected.

*Opalinski  
proposes a  
Piasze.*

*The tumultu-  
ous Election  
of Michael  
Coribut  
Wiesznow-  
ski.*

*Wiesznowski*

His Character.

*Wiesnowiski* was scarce known before his Promotion. His Father had lost 600000 Livres a Year in the War with the *Cossacks*, and the Son had long subsisted upon the Liberality of the late King. He was indeed of the Family of *Jagellon*, and descended from *Coribut* the Brother of that Prince; but he had done nothing which was answerable to his high Birth. Upon the News of his Election, he protested, that he had not Abilities to bear the Burden they had laid upon him, and did all he could to decline it; commendable in this, that he was acquainted with his own Weakness, and made no Scruple to avow it. If he was surprized at his Advancement to the Throne, the *Poles* were soon no less astonished to see themselves governed by such a Prince; nor could they conceive how it was they came to elect him. The Republic was never reduced so near to the Brinks of an absolute Ruin, as under his Administration, and they more than once talked of deposing him.

1671.  
The *Cossacks*  
again take  
up Arms.

The Great Duke of *Muscovy* had asked the Crown for his Son, as we have already observed; but finding himself disappointed, he studied Revenge, and revived the Rage of the *Cossacks*. *Dorozenski* their new General, was of himself sufficiently inclined to War, and hoped to form a Principality for himself, by means of these Troubles. He therefore took a Journey to *Constantinople*, offered *Ukrania* to the Sultan, and promised to introduce *Turkish* Garisons into the strongest Places of the Province, provided he would confer the Principality of it upon him, and support him against the Arms of *Poland*. His Offers were accepted, and the *Basha Koproli* gave Orders to the *Tartars* to join with the *Cossacks*, and begin their

their Ravages, which are the usual Forerunners of the *Ottoman* Armies.

They advanced the next Year towards *Podolia*, 1672. and laid Siege to *Kaminiec*, the sole Place belonging to *Poland* in that Quarter, that was considerable for its Fortifications; and the Infidels made themselves Masters of it in nine Days. This Conquest threw the whole Kingdom into a Consternation. The Country was open, and without Defence, and the Enemy might march to the Centre. *Wiesnowiski*, to get rid of them, gave up *Podolia* to the *Cossacks*, and promised to pay the Sultan a Tribute of 22000 Ducats.

*The Turks become Masters of Kaminiec and Podolia.*

But this shameful Treaty was not observed. 1673. *John Sobieski*, the Grand Marshal of the Crown, soon revenged his Country, and brought down the Pride of the Infidels. The *Basha Hussain* was intrenched near *Choczyn*, and threatened the Kingdom with an immediate Invasion. He had already prepared Chains for the *Poles*, and proposed to fix the *Ottoman* Standards upon the Walls of *Cracow*, before the End of the Campaign; but finding that the *Hospodar* or *Vaivode* of *Moldavia* had not joined him with as many Troops, or as good as he expected, he broke out into a Passion, abused him bitterly, and at last struck him upon the Head with an Ax, and wounded him. The *Moldavian*, enraged at this Affront, draws over the *Vaivode* of *Walachia*, to engage in his Quarrel, and these two Princes agree to revenge themselves by Treachery, and inform *Sobieski* how they were disposed. The *Polish* General presents himself before the *Turkish* Camp, and is admitted into it by the two *Vaivodes*, who join with him. But notwithstanding their Desertion, the Infidels maintain the Fight for four Hours. At last they are forced to yield, and of the 35000 Men, which

*Sobieski's Victory over the Infidels.*



composed their Army, there were scarce left 1500. And yet, all the Benefit that was reaped from this Victory, was the Conquest of *Choczyn*. The *Poles*, loaden with an immense Booty, were desirous to secure it, and retired for fear of losing it. They might have recovered *Kaminiec*, or fallen upon the *Basha Kaplam* with Advantage, who was with the *Asiatic* Troops under the Canon of *Czezowa*; but the Christian Army neglected to make a proper Use of that fortunate Circumstance, and disbanded, notwithstanding all the Orders and Care of the General to the contrary. King *Michael Wiesnowiski* died on the same Day this Battle was fought, not much regretted by his Subjects.

King Michael dies.

Interrog-  
num.

The Diet for  
the Election.

His Death revived the Hopes of most of the Candidates, who had already stood at the Time of his Election, and gave place to some other Pretensions. The Diet began on the 20th of April, and the Competitors were the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, the Prince of *Transilvania*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Newburg*, and Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*; and last of all, *Sobieski* appeared in favour of a Prince of *France*, whose Name was kept a Secret. All these Pretenders were admitted; their Proposals were heard, and not one of them was excluded.

Faction of  
the Czar.

The Czar, notwithstanding the Unsuccessfulness of his former Attempts, offered the *Poles* his second Son, a Youth of between thirteen and fourteen Years of Age. His Demand was expressed in humbler Terms than at the preceding Diet; and if he promised less, his Menaces were less also. But no farther Regard was paid to them, than might reasonably be expected from good Manners, and the Apprehension of disobliging so powerful a Neighbour.

The

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* proposed the Electoral Prince his Son, and promised that he should embrace the *Romish* Religion, in case he was chosen: But his Party was small. As he was a *German* by Nation, he was not beloved; and as a Protestant by Religion, it was apprehended that a Conversion for the sake of a Crown might not be sincere; and such a Prince might prove dangerous. The Elector soon perceived how the *Poles* stood affected towards his Son, and presently dropt the Design.

*Of the Elector of Brandenbourg.*

*Michael Abaffi* Vaivode of *Transilvania*, besides fifteen Millions, offered to unite his Principality to the Crown, and to maintain an Army of fifteen thousand Men, for the Service of the Republic, whilst at War with the *Turk*: But these Offers were beyond the Power of the *Transilvanian*, and impossible ever to be executed.

*Of the Prince of Transilvania.*

Prince *George* of *Denmark* was supported by the King his Brother, who offered three Millions, and the Maintenance of six thousand Horse. He was opposed by *Sweden*, which acted so powerfully against him, that his Faction, which was always inconsiderable, was soon lost in the rest.

*Of Prince George of Denmark.*

The most mighty of the Competitors were the Duke of *Newburg*, and *Charles* of *Lorrain*. The first of these Princes solicited for his eldest Son, and offered at the same time a King to *Poland*, and an Husband to the Queen, the Widow of *Michael Coribut Wiesnowiski*. The *Poles* were inclined towards him; but he found a powerful Adversary in the Prince of *Lorrain*. The Queen was in love with *Charles*, and pawned her very Jewels, to buy him Votes. *Pac* the Chancellor of *Lithuania*, and all the Deputies of the Duchy, were devoted to him; besides, the personal Merit of the Prince of *Lorrain*, had gained him a great Number of Followers. He advanced as far as

*Of the Dukes of Newburg and Lorrain.*

*Silesia*, to encourage his Faction, and succour them in case of Need.

Of John Sobieski.

*John Sobieski* Grand Marshal of the Crown, had declared, as I have already observed, for a Prince of *France*. Crowned with the Laurels he had lately gained in the Battle of *Choczyn*, and beloved by the Army, he had Power and Credit enough to create a King, without nominating the Candidate, whose Interest he espoused; he only gave the Character and Description of him, and under the borrowed Lines of the pretended Prince for whom he solicited, he evidently drew his own Picture. He publicly asked for a Prince of the Blood of *France*, whilst underhand and in private, to reserve in a manner the Liberty of giving himself his own Vote, he strove all he could to set the Crown upon his own Head.

In the mean time, the Factions of *Newburg* and *Lorrain*, promoted by different Interests, gave Cause to apprehend a double Election. The Senate, devoted to the *German* Prince, dispatched the Bishop of *Cracow* and some other Prelates to the Queen, to engage her to forget the Prince of *Lorrain*, and to offer her the Crown, and the Prince of *Newburg* for an Husband. But the Queen continued inflexible, and remaining constant to her Lover, took upon her to make him a King. The *Lituanians* swore to be faithful to him, and to die rather than desert his Party. The *Poles*, on the other hand, provoked at the Princess's Refusal, grew more fixed in their Resolution; and the more Constancy they saw in the opposite Faction, the more firmly they adhered to their own Candidate.

The Palatine of Russia's Speech in favour of Sobieski.

In this Situation of Affairs, and under the Apprehension of an ensuing Scission, *Sobieski* set his Friends to work. He had privately carried on his Design, that he might be out of the Reach  
of

of Envy, and did not lay open his Purpose, till he saw the Discovery was like to be attended with Success. The Palatine of *Russia* addressed the Assembly to this Purpose: “ The Republic  
 “ (says he) is in extreme Danger, and threatened  
 “ with all the Horrors of a Civil War; and yet  
 “ what are the Objects of so fatal a Division?  
 “ The Queen, on the one side, devoted to  
 “ *Charles of Lorrain*, does not approve the Prince  
 “ of *Newburg* for a Husband; and thus the Ca-  
 “ price of a Woman is to set us in Arms one  
 “ against another. On the other hand, we are  
 “ divided in the Cause of a *German*, whose  
 “ Country alone should be a sufficient Motive  
 “ for our refusing him. Thus we sacrifice our-  
 “ selves for a Stranger, and one who is little  
 “ known to us. Let us cease these Divisions,  
 “ which are founded on such frivolous Causes,  
 “ and yet must prove so fatal in their Conse-  
 “ quence. Let us equally set aside the two Com-  
 “ petitors, who are no otherwise considerable  
 “ than by the Cabals they have found Means to  
 “ form, and let the true Interest of the Kingdom  
 “ influence and direct our Suffrages. What kind  
 “ of a Head does the Republic stand in need of?  
 “ An Hero, who has Courage enough to con-  
 “ quer, and Wisdom to govern us in Peace.  
 “ And why should we seek for him out of *Po-*  
 “ *land*? We have amongst ourselves that Great  
 “ Man, who deserves to command us. You all  
 “ know him, and have oft admired his Courage  
 “ and Prudence. His Victories, and his Virtues,  
 “ point him out to you plain enough. The con-  
 “ quered *Turks*, and the *Cossacks* brought under  
 “ Subjection, solicit you in his favour. The  
 “ Security of your Frontiers against the Inva-  
 “ sions of your Enemies; the Tranquillity en-  
 “ joyed in the Heart of your Kingdom; the Con-



“ quest of *Choczin*, these are Claims, which should  
 “ carry your Voices. You see by these Circum-  
 “ stances that I propose *Sobieski*. Besides his great  
 “ Virtues, you owe a Recompence to his Ser-  
 “ vices. After having saved the State, can you  
 “ refuse him the Government of it? ”

*Sobieski  
 chosen.*

Upon naming this Candidate, those who were before prepared, rose up, and gave him their Suffrages aloud. The Palatinates of *Russia* declared for him, and were followed by that of *Crakow*. The rest of *Poland* was drawn after them, and either through Fear, Inclination, or Example, almost all the Assembly in an Instant nominated the Grand Marshal to the Throne.

The *Lithuanians* opposed this Choice, and entered their Protestations. Certain Senators were dispatched to bring them back to the *Colo*; and their Remonstrances so far prevailed, that the next Morning the Dissentients joined the Body of the Nation, and the Proclamation was made in their Presence, with an unanimous Consent.

It is said, that Mr. *de Fourbin de Janson*, then Bishop of *Marseilles*, and Ambassador of *France* into *Poland*, had a great Share in the Advancement of *Sobieski*. His Instructions were, to exclude the Prince of *Lorrain*, with whom *France* had great Reason to be dissatisfied. This Minister first espoused the Cause of the Prince of *Newburg*; but finding that he was no more likely to succeed than his Competitor, the sagacious Prelate privately joined himself to the Party of *Sobieski*, who for the Reward of his Services procured him the Cardinal's Cap.

*His Origin.*

This Prince owed his Fortune solely to his Merit. He was a Native of the Province of *Russia*. His Father was *James Sobieski* Castellan of *Cracow*, and his Mother a Daughter of *Stanislaus Zelkieski* Grand General of *Poland*. His  
 Conduct

Conduct and Courage raised him to the highest Dignities in the Republic. In 1665 he was made General, and the Year following High Steward of the Household, and Palatine of the Kingdom. He beat the *Cossacks*; took sixty of their Towns in one Campaign, and then drove them out of the Palatinate of *Bradaw* into the Lower *Podolia*. After the Loss of *Kaminiec*, he put a Stop to the farther Progress of the *Turks*, and the Conquest of *Choczin* gave the finishing Hand to his Glory. King *Michael* died in that Circumstance. *Sobieski* did not presume to declare his Pretensions; but under the Shew of an imaginary Candidate, he artfully formed his own Faction, took a proper Time to make his Designs known, and ascended the Throne he had lately preserved, and which, it may be, none but himself was capable of defending.

The *Turks* took the Field, before the *Polish* Army could be got together. *Choczin* surren-  
der'd after a Siege of eight Days, and *Dyskin* was taken at Discretion. The Grand Vizir then laid Siege to *Human*, which held out for fifteen Days. The Place was reduced to the last Extremities, and not finding any Hopes of Succour at hand, enter'd upon a Capitulation; when two Mines having blown up a Bastion, open'd so considerable a Breach, that the Infidels enter'd the Town before the Treaty was signed. They expos'd it to Plunder, and put the Garison to the Sword. After these Exploits, *Koprol*i advanced towards *Kaminiec*, and ruin'd all the neighbouring Posts, which might be of Service to the *Poles* in the Siege of that City, which he was apprehensive of; and then giving Orders to the Cham of *Tartary* to oppose *Sobieski* in the best manner he could, whose Army was beginning to be formed, he

1674.  
Conquests of  
the *Turks*.

sent part of his own into Winter Quarters, and the rest he dispatched into *Asia*, to serve against the *Sophi of Persia*, who threatened *Babylon*.

The *Polish* Armies are almost wholly made up of Gentlemen not subject to Discipline, who generally neglect the Orders of their Prince, and do not come together at the Time fixed by his Decrees. And thus, though *Sobieski* was very desirous of engaging with the *Turks*, and opposing their Progress, he was not able to take the Field till towards *November*, by which Time they had already compassed all they intended. As he could not therefore join the Infidels, he marched into *Ukrania*, at the Head of 30000 Men. The Capital of that Province surrendered to him, after having stood out seven and twenty Years. *Ras-cow*, and most of the Towns inhabited by the *Cossacks*, either open'd their Gates to him, or were carried by Assault; insomuch that *Dorozenki* had but two Places left him of any Consideration. The Fatigues of the Campaign led the Army of *Lithuania*, under the Command of General *Pac*, to a Revolt, and a great Number of the *Poles* followed their Example, and deserted the King.

1676. *Sobieski raises the Siege of Weinsaff.* If that Prince had not been Master of the greatest Constancy and Courage, *Poland* must have been utterly lost. The Infidels, inform'd that the *Pospolite* was dispersed, and that the King had not above four or five thousand Men in his Retinue, came into the Field early in the Spring, and laid Siege to *Zbarras*, which would open them a Way into *Russia*, from whence they might easily march to the very Gates of the Capital of the Kingdom. After some Resistance, 5000 Peasants, who were block'd up in *Zbarras*, revolted against *Desauteuls*, a *French* Gentleman, who was Governor of the Place, and threw him over

over the Walls. The *Basha Ibrahim* punished them for this Treachery, though it was advantageous to him. He cut off the Heads of the principal Persons concern'd, and condemned the rest to the Gallies. The Conqueror then sent out large Parties to insult the little Army of *Sobieski*, which was posted under the Cannon of *Leopold*. But they kept their Ground, and repulsed the Assailants so vigorously, that the *Ottoman* General did not think proper to engage in an Action. There were then soon Overtures made towards a Peace. The *Turks*, elate with their Success, demanded that *Podolia* should be given up to them, that they should be reimbursed the Expences of the War, and that *Ukrania* should be given to *Dorozenski*, who should possess it as a Feudatory of the *Porte*. But as weak as *Sobieski* was, he refus'd his Consent to so dishonourable a Treaty, and the War was continued on to the next Year.

To justify the Refusal of the Accommodation, 1675.  
he did all he could to re-unite the *Poles*, and with Conquest of Zbarras. great Difficulty form'd an Army capable of keeping the Field. The *Turks* laid Siege to *Weinaff*. He march'd against them, and oblig'd them to raise the Siege. He then intrench'd himself upon the Banks of the *Niefter*; and thither the Infidels, whose Forces were far superior to his, came up to attack him. But all their Efforts prov'd unsuccessful. *Sobieski*, secure of his own Courage and the Resolution of his Troops, march'd even out of his Entrenchments to dispute a Post with the Enemy, which they had a mind to make themselves Masters of, and from whence they might have incommoded him in his Camp. They fought till Night came on, on the 24th of *September*, and the Christian Army had all the Advantage. The four following Days were distinguish'd  
by



*Treaty of  
Peace.*

by so many Engagements, in which the *Turks* came off always with the worst. At last, on the 9th of *October*, *Ibrahim Basha*, and the *Cham of Tartary*, resolving upon a last Effort, march'd with their whole Force against the *Polish* Camp. They made their Attack with all possible Bravery and Resolution; but being repuls'd in every Quarter, and astonish'd at the Number of the slain, they retreated, and both Parties then came to an Accommodation. Peace was concluded upon the 15th of the same Month at *Zarawnow*, on the Banks of the *Niester*, on the following Conditions: That the dishonourable Treaty made by King *Michael Wiesnowiski* should be disannull'd; that the *Poles* should continue in Possession of that Part of *Ukrania*, which lay on this Side the *Niester*; that *Comirera*, and the Territories appertaining to the General of the *Cossacks*, who had lately put themselves under the Protection of the *Czar of Muscovy*, should belong to the *Turks*; that the *Roman Catholic* Religion should be preserved in those Countries; that the Infidels should give back all their other Conquests, except *Kaminiec* and its Dependencies; and that they should defend *Poland* against all its Enemies.

Under the Circumstances he then was, at a Time when the Nobility could scarce be brought to act for the Good of the Republic, *Sobieski* could not obtain more advantageous Conditions. They appear'd so exorbitant to the Grand Signior, that he refused for some Time to notify them; and did not comply at last, till his Grand Vizir *Koprol*i represented to him, that *Poland* would be invincible, so long as the Arm and Fortune of *Sobieski* could fight for it.

*Causes of the  
War between  
the Turks,*

*Hungary* had for some Years last past been the Seat of most violent Commotions. The Emperor had made himself Master of the principal Cities of

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of the Kingdom, had garisoned them with *German* and the Emperor Leopold Ignatius. Soldiers, and attempted to make that Crown hereditary. Count *Nadaſti*, provoked at his being refused the Palatinate of the Kingdom, and Count *de Serim*, discontented with not obtaining the Government of *Carleſtad*, had ſecretly implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Porte*, and offered to make *Hungary*, *Croatia* and *Stiria* tributary to the *Turks*, if they would lend a helping Hand towards putting them into their Poſſeſſion. The Grand Vi-  
zir, who had the Conqueſt of *Candia* from the *Venetians* at that time in his Thoughts, did not accept of their Offers, though at another Time they would have been favourably received; inſomuch, that the Malcontents, deſpairing of any Aſſiſtance from *Turkey*, and finding themſelves too weak to engage in an open Revolt, had re-  
course to other Methods. *Nadaſti* invited *Leopold*, the Empreſs, and the Princeſſes, to an Enter-  
tainment he was to give in one of his Territories, and prepared a poiſoned Diſh for the Emperor. *Nadaſti's* Wife, to whom the Traitor had diſco-  
vered his Deſign, was ſtruck with ſo much Hor-  
ror, that ſhe cauſed the fatal Diſh to be taken away, and another like it to be ſerv'd up in its room. *Nadaſti* not obſerving the Effects he ex-  
pected from the Poiſon, charg'd it upon his Wife, who readily own'd what ſhe had done. The barbarous Wretch puniſhed her for it in the moſt cruel Manner imaginable, and forced her to die by the ſame kind of Death, from which ſhe had preſerved the Emperor.

In the mean time, the Conſpirators uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to debauch the Nobility. *Ragoſki*, *Tattembach*, *Frangiſani*, and ſeveral Gen-  
tlemen of Diſtinction, were drawn into the Plot, which was ſoon after diſcovered. Count *Tattem-  
bach* was betray'd by his *Valet de Chambre*, who ſent

sent to the Court of *Vienna* the Original of the Treaty he had made with the Count *de Serim*. An intercepted Letter compleated the Discovery of this terrible Conspiracy. *Serim* and *Francis Christopher Frangipani* his Brother-in-law, were seized upon in a little Place of *Croatia*, when they least expected it, where their Resistance would have been ineffectual, and surrendered themselves quietly upon the Assurances, that Prince *Lobbowitz*, his Imperial Majesty's first Minister, gave them, that he would procure their Pardon. *Nadassi* was taken up at the same time, and all these three Lords were beheaded.

*Leopold* then flatter'd himself that he could dispose of *Hungary* as an hereditary Country, and thought he might do as he pleas'd, whilst he saw nothing capable of opposing his Designs. He suppressed the Dignity of Palatine, created a Viceroy removeable at Pleasure, whose Power was intirely dependent upon the Imperial Court, and confiscated the Rebels Estates. Some Time after he erected a Sovereign Court of Justice for all Affairs in the Kingdom, from which there was no Appeal. The Protestants, whose Privileges were restrained by the Claims of this new Jurisdiction, and in general, the whole Body of the Nation, wholly turn'd their Minds, upon this, towards shaking off the Chains which the *Imperialists* attempted to put upon them.

These Troubles were farther increased upon the Death of Prince *Francis Ragotski*, who had been forced to make a Cession of the Counties of *Zatkmar* and *Zembolisch* to the Emperor. The *Transilvanians* demanded back that Principality; and *Leopold* refusing to restore it, the two Parties prepared for War; but War was carried slowly on, till the *Turks* engag'd themselves in it.

In 1677, Count *de Bobun*, at the Head of 6000 *Poles*, who, after the Treaty of *Zurawnow* mentioned already, having no Employment, had march'd into *Hungary*, beat General *Smith*, and joined the Rebels commanded by *Westini*. The famous *Tekeli*, who prevailed upon the *Turks* and so many other Enemies to arm against the House of *Austria*, came up likewise with his Troops to increase the Army of the Malcontents, which then consisted of 18000 Men. Soon after, this Lord was declar'd General instead of *Westini*.

When the Emperor saw that the Storm grew more considerable, he endeavour'd to prevent it; and in the Diet of *Odemburg*, he granted the Protestants the Churches they had built, gave them Leave to build three more in the *Upper Hungary*, and restor'd the Office of Palatine of the Kingdom; but these Favours were out of Season. *Tekeli* refused to subscribe to this Accommodation, as knowing that he should soon be assisted by the *Transilvanians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*. Declaring himself the Avenger of the Blood of Count *Serim*, he married the Princess, who was Widow to *Ragotski*, and by that means became Possessor of the Fort of *Mongate*. He soon after took the Town and Castle of *Cassovia*. *Lengch*, *Spit*, *Eperies*, *Tokai* and *Tillek* opened their Gates to him, and the Sultan declar'd him Prince of *Hungary*.

Tho' the *Turks* had not yet openly declar'd for War, they had notwithstanding furnish'd *Tekeli* with Succours, and the *Basha* of *Varadin* was concern'd in the taking of *Fillec*. At last, on the 2d of *January*, the fatal Horse-tails, the usual Ensigns of an ensuing War, were seen upon the Gates of the Seraglio of *Adrianople*; and the whole

1683.



whole *Ottoman* Empire was in Motion, to carry Fire and Sword into the Bosom of *Austria*.

*A League  
between the  
Emperor and  
the King of  
Poland.*

To resist this formidable Enemy, the Emperor *Leopold Ignatius* had, the Year before, implor'd the Assistance of the Pope and all Christian Princes, and particularly sought the Alliance of the King of *Poland*, that Prince so terrible to the Infidels, who, with an Handful of Soldiers, had check'd the Progress of the most numerous of the *Ottoman* Armies.

*Sobieski* had for some Years been tasting the Blessings of Peace, and quietly enjoying the Fruit of his Labour, by means of the advantageous Treaties he had made with the *Porte*. Besides, he was no Friend to the House of *Austria*, nor to *Leopold* in particular, who had refus'd him Assistance, when *Poland*, pressed by the Arms of the Infidels, was within a Moment of becoming their Prey. These Motives for some time diverted *Sobieski* from the Alliance that was offer'd him; but the Courts of *Rome* and *Vienna* made such powerful Applications, that at last they prevail'd on the King to join his Arms with the *Imperialists*, against the common Enemy of Christendom.

In short, *Louisa de la Grange d'Arquien*, Queen of *Poland*, a *French* Lady by Birth, sought to form an Alliance with the House of *Austria*, which might contribute to the Advancement of her Family. *Leopold*, who was acquainted with the Sentiments of this Princess, was beforehand with her, flattered her Ambition, and made her very large Promises. They fed her with Hopes, that if she could engage the King her Husband to sign a Treaty against the *Turk*, they would give her Son the Arch-duchess to Wife, and that with the Assistance of the Emperor, she might be able to set the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of that young Prince, after his Father's Death.

Death. *Innocent XI.* promised him his Protection and Interest, and undertook to procure Prince *James* to be nominated his Father's Successor in a general Diet. Upon these Promises she solicits *Sobieski*, and easily gain'd him over to her Views. In the mean time a great Number of *Polish* Lords in the Diet oppos'd the Rupture of the Treaties subsisting with the *Porte*, and the entering into the new League which was then propos'd; but the Queen's Party managed so dexterously, and represented in such lively Colours the Danger to which all Christendom was about to be expos'd, that they carried it for an Alliance with the Emperor.

This important Treaty was concluded on the 31st of *March*, 1683. The Terms were, That the Emperor should have 40000 Men in the Field, and 20000 in Garison; that *Sobieski* should put himself at the Head of the Army, which was to march against the *Turks*; that they should fall upon *Tekeli* with 6000 Men, whilst the rest should make themselves Masters of *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, and drive the Infidels from thence. By a second Treaty the King engag'd to march to the Relief of *Vienna*, in case that City was besieged, as the great Preparations of the Enemy gave Cause to apprehend it would be.

As soon as the King had sign'd these Treaties, he took Pains to make good what he had done. He was generally thought to be inclin'd to Avarice; and indeed the Desire of raising his Family might perhaps lead him to too strict an Oeconomy, and the heaping up of immense Riches; but in the present Circumstances, it seem'd as if he had spar'd, only to lay out his Treasures to Advantage upon a proper Occasion. He open'd his Coffers to raise Troops, and drew over several Officers of Distinction to serve under him; he form'd

form'd Regiments of *Cossacks*, and maintain'd Spies at his own Expence in *Transilvania* and *Hungary*. He even found Means to draw over *Tekeli* and *Abassi* from the *Turkish* Party; and tho' those two Princes appeared to be engaged with the Infidels, they notwithstanding held a private Correspondence with *Sobieski*.

*Siege of Vienna in Austria.*

*Kara Mustapha* the Grand Vizir soon appear'd at the Head of 20000 Men. Upon his Approach the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was Generalissimo of the Imperial Army, and had laid Siege to *Neubausel* upon the *Neyera*, retreated into the *Schut*, an Island formed by the *Danube*, and famous for the Fort of *Komorre*, raised upon a Point of Land on the Side of *Gran*; but *Vienna*, in a Consternation, calling him to her Relief, he led his Army up to the Walls of the City. The Grand Vizir tarried some few Days before *Rab*, or *Javaria*, which he caused to be besieged; but soon abandoning that Enterprize, he march'd up the *Danube*, and in the Month of *July* came within Sight of the Capital of *Austria*.

*Flight of the Emperor.*

The News of the Infidels Approach, and the View of the Fires the *Tartars* had kindled on both Sides the River, threw the Emperor into the greatest Consternation. He quitted his Palace with Precipitation, without carrying off with him either Furniture, Money, or Jewels. Most of the Lords followed him without Equipages; and they narrowly escaped being seiz'd by the *Tartars* in the Neighbourhood of *Lintz*. The Emperor not thinking himself still secure, though arrived in that Place, resolved to go a great way farther yet into *Germany*. His second Flight was as precipitate as the former, and attended with a Circumstance more deplorable. The Empress, who was six Months gone with Child, the Ladies, and the whole Court, without Lodging, Fire, or Provisions,

Provisions, were oblig'd to pass a whole Night in a Forest, where, with much Difficulty, they got a Truss of Straw to lay the Empress upon, who was in such Consternation, that she was ready to cry out. At last, *Leopold* arriving at *Passaw*, rested awhile, and waited for the Event of the Siege of *Vienna*.

The Trenches were opened on the 14th of *July*. Disposition of the Besiegers. Besides the *Hungarians*, *Transilvanians*, *Tartars*, and the Troops which guarded the Bridges of *Rab*, the *Turks* alone made up a Body of 150000 Men, who took up a Tract of Ground proportionable to their Numbers. The Grand Vizir's Quarter was upon the little rising Hills which surround the Palace. Gold and Jewels made, on every Side, a most splendid Shew in the midst of Mortars and Cannon. All the Terrors of War and the Siege were intermix'd with the Pride and Pomp of Luxury. No Prince in *Europe* could appear more glorious, or more terrible.

On the other Side, the City besieged was very The Condition of the Place. weak in several Places, and the Counterscarp in a sad Condition. The Point of Attack was flank'd with two small Bastions, and fortified by a Ravelin, which covered the Curtain. The Rampart lay close to the Houses, and Ground was wanting to make a proper Retreat; inso-much, that if the first Posts had been carried, it would have been impossible to have held out much longer. But there were Provisions in *Vienna*; and Ammunition in abundance. There was a sufficient Artillery, and managed by skilful Hands. And the Garrison were assisted by a considerable Number of Citizens, who seem'd resolv'd to save their Country, or perish in its Ruins. The Duke of *Lorrain* took his Post a small Distance off on the left Side of the *Danube*, as well to encourage the Besieged, as to be in  
Y Readiness



Readiness to receive the Succours which should arrive.

The Siege was not carried on with that Vigour which the *Turks* usually shew upon such an Occasion. The first Night they carried their Trenches within 60 Foot of the Fosse; but they scarce made any farther Advancement. A Battery of 70 Pieces of Cannon was not able in six Weeks Time to break down one single Pan of the Ravelin. Their Mines were all countermined: Not one of them succeeded; and their whole Ordinance, through want of proper Managers, became ineffectual. 'Tis said, that *Mustapha* prolong'd the Siege with Design; and that to preserve the Plunder he expected to meet with, he was afraid of carrying the Place by Assault.

*The Duke of  
Lorrain de-  
jects Tekeli.*

Whilst he lay before *Vienna*, *Tekeli* was busy in *Hungary*. The Town of *Presbourg* having put itself under his Protection, the *Hungarian* Prince, supported by a Body of 16000 *Turks*, march'd to attack the Citadel. The Duke of *Lorrain*, inform'd of his Motions, hazarded all to prevent them. He quitted his Post, enter'd the Castle of *Presbourg*, and drove out the Garison which was in the Town. *Tekeli* was posted within a Quarter of a League of them; and it was judg'd proper to fall upon him. *Lubormiski*, at the Head of 2500, put him to flight, slew 800 of his Men, and oblig'd the rest to retreat towards *Tyrnaw*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having repass'd the *Danube*, was preparing to throw a Bridge over it near *Tala*, whilst Count *Tekeli*, by the Orders of the Grand Vizir, entered *Austria*. The Duke, inform'd of the Enemies March, went to meet them, and came up with them not far from *Pissemburg*. The Enemy were posted upon a rising Ground, from whence two Battalions fell so fiercely upon the Christian Troops, that they repuls'd the

the *Poles*, and overthrew all that stood in their way; but the Duke's Dragoons put a Stop to their Fury, and charged them so resolutely, that they were obliged to return to the main Body of their Army, which immediately was dispersed: Some of them fled towards *la Mark*, and the rest towards the Bridges of *Vienna*.

*Sobieski* in the mean time, pressed by the repeated Letters of *Leopold*, march'd with 20000 *Poles* to the Succour of the Place; and joining the Duke of *Lorrain* near *Ollerbrun*, cross'd the *Danube* at *Tala*, over a Bridge which they had built, led his Army through the narrow Passages which the Enemy might easily have guarded; and seized upon the Mountains which surround *Vienna*, and the Castle of *Claremburg*, which commands the whole Country. The March prov'd fortunate, and the Success of it let *Sobieski* know, that he had to do with an Enemy, who was either without Experience, or too full of Presumption. The Christian Army encamped, on the 11th of *September*, on the Tops of the Mountains we have mentioned, and their Generals let them rest for one whole Day, that they might be fitter for Action on the next. The Engagement began by break of Day on the Side of *Claremburg*. The different Posts seiz'd by the Infidels were covered with Inundations; but notwithstanding this Advantage they were driven from them, and by Noon *Sobieski* was Master of all the higher Ground, and prepared to fall, with a Body of Hussars, upon the Quarters of the Grand Vizir.

Whilst the Christian Troops were thus bravely engaged, *Mustapha*, making a Jest of their Assault, was drinking Coffee in his Tent with his two Sons and the Cham of *Tartary*. He sent only 12000 Men to the Engagement of *Claremburg*,  
and raises the Siege.

*berg*, and declin'd giving any Assistance to his Horse, though attack'd by the whole Imperial Army. But as soon as the *Turkish* General, blinded by a senseless Confidence, saw the Standards of *Sobieski* so near him, his foolish Presumption was soon changed into Cowardice. His Courage forsook him, and trembling and affrighted, he had no Strength but to fly. The *Germans* first enter'd the Camp, as being nearest to it. The King reach'd it by Six in the Evening; and before Night there was not a *Turk* to be seen. They found immense Riches. *Sobieski* wrote to his Queen, that the Grand Vizir had made him his sole Executor.

*Judgment  
upon this  
Action.*

*Mustapha*, in the Siege of *Vienna*, acted contrary to all the known Rules of the Art of War, and the Advice of the oldest *Basha's*. He ought first to have conquered *Javarin*, which he left behind him. In laying siege to *Vienna*, he split the *Turkish* Crescents against that Rock, and gave into the Hands of the Christians the prodigious Wealth he had brought along with him. He might have taken the City before the *Poles* came up. He might have retarded their March, and covered his Lines, by guarding the narrow Passes which surrounded his Camp; but he look'd upon the first Advantages of the Christians with Contempt, and seem'd as if he had let them gain them only that he might chuse a Time to conquer them at his Pleasure, in the midst of their Success. When they fell upon his Camp, it gave him no more Concern. His Troops were driven from Hill to Hill, without his sending them any Succours to support them. Lastly, he kept about him 150000 Men, to be as it were Spectators of the Engagement. *Sobieski* advances, and the Vizir waits his coming up in a State of Insensibility, as if it were to deliver into his Hands his rich

rich Pavilions. A mistaken Courage blinds him, and conceals his Danger from him; and when he discerns it, 'tis only to pass from one Extreme of Presumption, to another of Terror and Consternation. This great Victory cost the Christians no more than the Loss of 600 of their Men. As the Infidels made but a weak Resistance, and were not pursued, there were but a small Number of them left upon the Field of Battle.

*Sobieski*, upon his Entrance into *Vienna*, which he had so lately delivered, went directly and presented himself before the Altar, to return his Thanks to Almighty God, and joined himself in the *Te Deum*, with his Countenance fixed upon the Ground, and the most lively Expressions of Admiration and Gratitude. The People were busied in singing his Praises, and looking upon him with Wonder and Astonishment, whilst the King attributed the whole Success of his Arms to Heaven.

The Emperor returned into the Capital of his Dominions on the 14th of the same Month; and then, shewing himself as haughty as he had appeared dejected before, he let *Sobieski* know, that he would not pay him the Honours which were given to Kings in other Courts. At a Time when *Leopold* was recovering, as I may say, his Crown from the victorious Hands of the *Polish* Monarch, he contested upon a vain Ceremonial. It was at last determin'd, that they should meet in open Field; and the Interview was made at *Schwech*, within a League and half off from *Vienna*. *Leopold's Behaviour.*

As soon as the Emperor appeared, *Sobieski* went to meet him, and said to him in *Latin*, That he was very glad that Heaven had prospered his Endeavours and his Friendship. *Leopold* gave no Answer, either thro' the Haughtiness of his Disposition, or that he was struck with Astonishment at the Sight of his Deliverer. Two Days after



he sent Prince *James* a Sword set round with Diamonds, and three thousand Ducats to every one of the *Polish* Generals. He wrote a Letter likewise to the young Prince, in which, to excuse himself for not having before taken Notice of him, he told him, that the Remembrance of the Dangers he had run, and the Presence of the Prince to whom he owed his Preservation, had made at once so great an Impression upon him, that he was in a manner insensible. However this was, *Sobieski* was treated with Ingratitude, and the Promises which had been made him were forgotten, as soon as the Service was done.

The *Polish* Lords, provok'd to see their King so disrespectfully treated, would have persuaded him to retire; but a Sense of Glory prevail'd more upon him, and he determin'd to finish the Campaign.

*A fatal Engagement to the Poles.*

Upon raising the Siege of *Vienna*, the *Ottoman* Army retreated into *Hungary* to the Neighbourhood of *Gran*. A large Body of Troops had pass'd the *Danube* over the Bridge of *Barkham*, and had spread themselves by Pelotoons around that Fort, in the Orchards which lie along the Banks of the River. The King of *Poland* form'd a Design of dislodging them from that Post; and that the *Poles* might have all the Glory of the Expedition, he did not communicate his Project to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Upon the Approach of the first Line of the Christian Troops, the *Turks*, who had recovered themselves, fell upon them; and their Numbers being considerably augmented, they drove back the *Poles*, and kill'd a great Number. *Sobieski* himself was never in so great Danger. Though he could not have thought the Enemy would have been beforehand with him, nor expected they would have engag'd so soon, he gave immediate Orders, and stood firm with a Body

a Body of *Cossacks* and some Horse. The *Turks*, with their Sabres in their Hands, fell upon him so impetuously, that his Battalion was shaken, and in a Fright turn'd their Backs upon the third Onset. Deserted by his Soldiers, he was oblig'd to fly with them; and being briskly pursu'd, and scarce known by his own Men, he narrowly escaped being stifled in the midst of the Press. Twice a *Turkish* Soldier attempted to cut off his Head; and if a Gentleman, and the Master of his Horse, who never left him, had not diverted those fatal Blows, the great *Sobieski*, who had escap'd the Dangers of so many Battles, must have lost his Life in that Skirmish. He was so fatigu'd, and covered over with Dust, Sweat and Blood, and so spent with the Heat of the Weather and the Engagement, that he was not able to sit upon his Horse. His Head declin'd upon his Breast, and as he was fat and heavy, he was in danger of being either suffocated or falling into the Hands of the Enemy. His Gentleman and the Master of the Horse took hold of him by one Arm, and keeping his Head up strait for fear of Suffocation, they let go the Bridles of their Horses, and so escaped.

Vengeance followed close at the Heels of this Affront. A Report was spread among the *Turks*, In a second Action they beat the Turks. that the King was slain. Fired with their Advantage, and freed from the Fear of that terrible Thunderer, they desired of *Kara Mustapha* a Supply of Troops, to exterminate the Remains of the Christian Army. The Grand Vizir immediately dispatch'd a numerous Body of Horse, and ordered *Tekeli* to advance towards *Barkham* with 30000 Men under his Command; but before these Supplies could arrive, *Sobieski* got the Start of the Enemy. In short, upon the 11th of *October*, two Days after the Defeat, the King

got on Horse-back by Break of Day, and put his Troops in order of Battle. The Right Wing he commanded in Person, the Left he committed to the Grand General of the Crown, and gave the Center to the Prince of *Lorrain*.

Rage and Fury seem'd to animate the *Turks* upon the first Onset, and to supply their want of Numbers. The Christian Troops fell upon them with a Rapidity equal to their Resistance. The *Basha's* of *Buda*, *Silestria*, and *Caramania*, made prodigious Efforts, and long suspended the Victory, which the Courage of the King of *Poland*, and the good Order he had established, at last carried in favour of the Christians. *Sobieski*, by placing himself in the Right Wing, as we have already observed, had a Design to fall down towards the River, and throw himself betwixt the Enemy and their Bridge. When their Ardour began to abate, he stretch'd out his Forces by little and little into the lower Plain, and drew towards the *Danube*. Upon this Motion the Infidels, who were apprehensive for their Bridge and the Fort of *Barkham*, broke their Ranks to get thither before him. They were briskly pursu'd, and soon thrown into Confusion. The Way was too narrow to receive them all. Part cast themselves into the *Danube*, and there perished. Others expired under the Sword of the Conqueror. A great Number ran towards the Bridge, which being overladen, was broke down. A most dreadful Slaughter then followed. *Barkham* was attack'd by the *Polish* Foot, and carried by Assault. The Soldiers gave way to their Fury, and glutted their Hatred against the Infidels. 'Twas in vain to throw down their Arms; they spared none. They refused to hearken to a Capitulation; and the Conquerors, deaf to the Voices of their own Officers, would not be prevail'd on to desist

desist from Slaughter, till there were no more Enemies to be slain. There fell that Day 12000 *Turks*.

The Action was over, and the Christian Army already Conquerors, when *Tekeli* appeared upon the neighbouring Mountains; but upon seeing the Defeat of his Allies, he retreated. 'Tis thought that his Slowness was a Consequence of the Intelligence he held with the King of *Poland*, and that he might have come up sooner. The Grand Vizir suspected it, and caused him to be taken up some Time after. The Fruit of this Victory was the Conquest of *Gran*, which surrender'd after a Siege of five Days. The Sultan attributed the Loss of this City to the Negligence and Inability of *Kara Mustapha*, and caus'd him to be strangled.

After this glorious Campaign, *Sobieski* set forward upon his Return into his own Dominions. In his March he made himself Master of *Zatkin*, which broke all the Schemes of the Infidels, who had resolved to fall upon him in his Retreat. A few Days after, the *Poles* defeated an Army of 40000 *Turks* and *Tartars* near *Pilgrotin*. The *Cossacks*, *Moldavians* and *Walachians* then enter'd the Province of *Butriac*, where they slew above 100000 Persons.

The next Year the King enter'd into a League 1684. Offensive and Defensive with the Emperor, and the Republic of *Venice*, against the *Turks*. Whilst the *Imperialists* were engag'd upon the *Danube*, and the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, the *Poles* were to employ the Forces of the Infidels by an Attack on the Side of *Walachia*. By a secret Article of this Treaty it was stipulated, that this Province and *Moldavia* should be absolutely subject to *Sobieski*, and that he might dispose of them to his eldest

*Treaty with  
the Emperor  
and Republic  
of Venice.*



1686. eldest Son. Two Years after, the King drew the Czar of *Muscovy* into this League, with the Hospodar of *Moldavia*, who promised to declare for him, as soon as the *Poles* should set footing in his Country.

*The King enters Moldavia.*

*Sobieski* march'd towards this Expedition with all the Ardour imaginable. The Advantages his Family would find in it, were a powerful Motive to engage him to it. He was followed by the bravest Spirits in all *Poland*. All the Lords and Generals enter'd into the Service, and the Republic had not of a long Time sent abroad so fine and great an Army. The Campaign was opened in the Beginning of *July*. The King would command in Person, tho' the Lords complain'd that he took from them the best Part of their Glory; and this Jealousy had already occasioned some Divisions. The Army enter'd *Moldavia*, pass'd the *Pruth*, and leaving it on the Right, travers'd vast Plains, without the Appearance of any Enemy. They expected the Hospodar, who, by a private Treaty made with him, was to join his Forces to the *Poles*; but the perfidious *Cantemir* had changed his Mind, and was gone over to the Infidels. The King made himself Master of all the Places in the Province, and found no Opposition to his Conquests. But the Difficulty was, how to preserve a Country that lay quite open, without any one strong Place in it.

*The Treachery of the Vawide.*

After a March of four and twenty *Moldavian* Leagues, every one of which is as much as five *French* ones, without meeting with an Enemy, that he might not lose the Fruit of that Expedition, *Sobieski* resolv'd upon proceeding as far as the Borders of the *Black Sea*, and laying siege to *Akierman* or *Bialogrod*, in the *Dubriac* Province of the lesser *Tartary*, upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*.

*davia*. The Army then turned towards that Quarter, but soon found it was impossible to go forward, for the *Tartars* had laid the whole Country desolate, and had left neither Forage nor Provision.

*Sobieski* then quitted this Design to march along the *Danube*; but this Scheme was attended with greater Difficulties than the former. There were so many Rocks, Woods, and narrow Lanes, which lay in the Way, that, besides the Ambuscades, they had Cause to apprehend the Road was so impassable, that the Army must have perished, if they had advanced too far. They therefore returned towards the *Pruth*: And then the *Tartars* and *Moldavians* came down from their Mountains, and shew'd themselves in the Valley. As the Corn and Hay were full-grown and dry, their Detachments set fire to the Fields, as the Negroes of *Congo* do in *Africa*, to drive away the Lions and Leopards: And the Christian Troops oft saw themselves cover'd with Flames and Ashes. Besides this, they were oblig'd to engage in several Places, and always in a Situation of Disadvantage. The greatest Danger was in crossing the *Buccovines*, which were vast Solitudes, interspers'd with Ditches and narrow Passes between the *Pruth* and one Part of the *Krapac* Mountains. The *Tartars* propos'd there to have quite destroy'd the *Polish* Army, when, shut up in a kind of Prison, they would not have been in a Condition to defend themselves. To this end they placed an Ambuscade upon the Side of a Brook, which flow'd out of a Rock near a narrow Passage, lin'd on each Side by a steep Rock, and through which the *Poles* were obliged to march. They were upon the Point of falling into this Snare, when a Defenter luckily came to give them Notice of the Danger which threatened them. Inform'd

*The remarkable March of the Polish Army.*

form'd of the Place, and the Nature of the Ambuscade, the King detach'd *Rewowski*, the Treasurer of the Crown, with a Body of select Soldiers, who, climbing up the Mountain, fell upon the *Tartars* from behind, as they lay asleep, and intirely routed them. The Army then march'd forward without any Apprehension, and happily arrived at *Snyatin* in *Pokatia*. This Expedition had not indeed the Success which was expected; but this was so far from casting a Blemish upon the Reputation of *Sobieski*, that it served only to augment his Glory.

The King stood in need of all his Courage and Experience, to prevent any fatal Effects from the *Moldavian's* Treachery. Not seeing him come up, he was for marching into the *Budziac*, or as far as the *Danube*. His Courage led him thither; and he would have compassed his Designs, if the Ways had been passable. In his Return, his Skill, and the Order he caused to be observed, saved his Army, and were equivalent to the Laurels of a Victory. The ten thousand *Greeks*, whose Story is given by *Xenophon*, were not expos'd to greater Dangers, nor retreated out of *Persia* with more Honour, than the *Poles* from the Mountains of *Moldavia*.

A few Months before the King of *Poland's* Death, Count *Jablownowski*, Grand General of the Kingdom, and *Sapieha*, Grand General of *Lithuania*, gain'd a Victory over the *Turks* and *Tartars* near *Niester*. The Infidels left 4000 of their Men upon the Field of Battle, and lost besides 5000 Waggon's loaden with Provisions and Ammunition, design'd for *Kaminiec*, with the Money which was to pay the Garison. The *Poles* lost but twelve Men in the whole Action.

*Sobieski*

*Sobieski* had for some Time declin'd appearing at the Head of the Army, either thro' an Inclination to silence the Complaints of the Lords, who were displeas'd that he gave them no Opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or that his Age and Sickness would not admit of the Fatigue. He died in short on the 17th of *June* at *Villanova*, near *Warsaw*, of a Swelling, which ended in a Dropsy. He liv'd seventy two Years, and reign'd two and twenty. 1696.

*The King's Death.*

His Courage rais'd him to the Throne, and his future Conduct shew'd; that he deserv'd his good Fortune. He knew how to join a good Taste for the Sciences, to a thorough Acquaintance with the Art of War, and could as well harangue in a Diet, as fight at the Head of an Army. If he heap'd up Riches, and seem'd of a sparing Disposition, the Interest of the Republic always got the better of his Temper. When he was no more than Marshal of the Crown, he oft made use of his Wealth towards dispersing those vast Armies of *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, which invaded the Kingdom with so much Fury; and in the Campaign of *Vienna*, he distributed his Treasures with a kind of Prodigality, which was so much the more commendable, that if he was naturally fond of laying up Riches, he sacrificed his own Inclination to the Necessities of the State. *His Character.*

*Vienna* fav'd, and several other Exploits, have immortalized the Name of *Sobieski*. If he did not recover *Kaminiec*, as he gave Cause to hope that he would, upon his coming to the Crown, the Reason was, because the Republic had then neither Cannon, Powder, or Engineers. And what could *Sobieski* do in this Condition? His Courage, thro' the Want of his Subjects Assistance, was con-



constrain'd against his Inclination to remain unactive. In the following Reign the *Turks* gave back *Kaminiec*; and this Restitution ought rather to be look'd upon, in some sort, as a Consequence of the Victories which *Sobieski* and the *Imperialists* his Allies, had gain'd over the Enemies of the Christian Name, than attributed to any Efforts of *Augustus* and the *Poles* for the Recovery of that important Place.

*Sobieski* had brought the *Cossacks* under much greater Subjection than they were before; the *Muscovites* were his Allies; the *Turks* were beaten in every Quarter, and presum'd not to enter upon his Frontiers; the Kingdom, enrich'd with their Spoils, enjoy'd a profound Peace, whilst the King, at the Head of his Troops, was expos'd to all the Hazards of War in an Enemy's Country; and lastly, he had carried the Glory of the Nation to the highest Point of Perfection.

And yet this Prince, so deserving of the Throne, met with but ungrateful Subjects. The Emperor shew'd but little Gratitude for the Services he had render'd him; and the Court of *Vienna*, not satisfied with refusing Prince *James* the Arch-duchess, who had been promis'd him, oppos'd the Marriage of that young Prince with the Princess *Radziwil*. The *Poles* likewise but ill requited the good Offices of *Sobieski*. The House of *Sapieha*, which he had drawn from Obscurity, and rais'd to the highest Offices in the Duchy of *Lithuania*, conspired against him in 1683. *Radzieiowski* his Relation, for whom he had procur'd a Cardinal's Cap, and had advanced him to the Dignity of Primate, became his Enemy. *Wielopolski*, the Brother-in-law to the Queen, join'd with the Prelate; and 'tis said, these two Lords form'd a Faction to dethrone their Benefactor. Lastly, his Death gave

Satisfaction

Satisfaction to most of the *Poles*, and the rest seem'd little concern'd at it. The Events which have follow'd, and the bloody Revolutions which have fallen out in the Kingdom since his Death, ought to make him be extremely regretted, and let the *Poles* see how much preferable the Reign of such a *Piaſte*, as *Sobieſki* was, must necessarily be to the Government of any Foreigner.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
POLAND, &c.

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BOOK VI.

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Interreg-  
num.

1696.

Jul. 24.

*The Meeting  
of the Senate  
at Warsaw.*

**S**OBIESKI was scarce dead, before Cardinal *Radzieiowski*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and Primate of the Kingdom, came to *Warsaw*, where he made his Entry as Regent, during the *Interregnum*.

Within two Days after, the Senate met and fixed the Convocation of the Dietines throughout the Kingdom, to the 29th of *July*, and the Diet of Election, to the 29th of *August* in the same Year. The private Assemblies of each District were full of Tumult and Confusion; and the only Article of Moment agreed on by them was, that the Election should be made by the *Pospolite*, or Assembly of the Nobility of the Kingdom.

The

The Preliminary Diet was open'd on the 29th of *August*; and after very warm Debates, the Deputies made choice of *Humiecki*, *Stolnick* or Master of *Podolia*, the Nephew of the Palatine of *Kiow*, to be Marshal of the Diet, or Director of the Convocation. The new Marshal recommended himself to the Nobility, by his great Zeal in supporting the Honour and Interest of that principal Body of the Nation; and the Deputies likewise took part with him, in the small Difference he had with the Cardinal Primate. The Cardinal, offended with some Insinuations to the Prejudice of the Queen, which the Marshal had indirectly let fall in a Discourse he made to the Senate, interrupted him, and desired he would explain what he meant by certain Expressions in his Speech. *Humiecki* in his turn, affronted at the Cardinal's Demand, said that the whole Body of the Nobility was insulted in his Person; and the Deputies, to shew that they resented the Injury, left the Room, with the greatest Part of the Senators, who all took a Pleasure in giving this Mortification to the Primate, as, through his Zeal for the Queen he was become a Sharer in the general Hatred which they bore towards that Princess.

Whilst the *Poles* were mutually expressing their Jealousies in the Diet, the *Tartars* made an Irruption into *Podolia*, carried off a great Number of Slaves of every Age and Condition, drove away the Cattle, and set fire to the Fields of Corn. The Army of *Poland* march'd towards those Quarters, to put a Stop to their Ravages; and if they had been joined by the Forces of *Lithuania*, they would have doubtless effectually prevented them; but none of the Misfortunes of the Republic were sufficient to make the latter Army move one Step.

*Irruption of  
the Tartars  
into Podolia.*



Confeder-  
ation of the  
Army of  
Poland.

The Republic, thus become a Prey to Strangers, was likewise torn to pieces by its own Subjects. *Boguslaus Baronowski*, a Gentleman whose Family had been ennobled by having given Birth to an Archbishop of *Gnesna*, was left by his Father with so small an Estate, that he was in no Condition to live as became his Quality. He had likewise spent the small Fortune his Wife brought him, whom he had married only for her Money. Under these Circumstances of *Boguslaus*, the Army of the Crown demanded the Arrears that were due to them; and this Gentleman, who look'd upon Poverty as the greatest of Evils, laid hold of the Opportunity to make his Fortune. "And is this" then, (cry'd he to the Mutineers) is this the "Reward of our Blood so often shed in Defence" of the Republic, that we must be left to per-  
"ish? Ah! rather let us be beforehand with" the *Turks* and *Tartars*. Let us take from them  
"the Means of plundering the Frontiers, by pay-  
"ing ourselves with our own Hands, and carrying  
"off thence whatever we can. But why should  
"I call it carrying off? It is preserving the Sub-  
"stance of the Republic; for by this means the  
"Enemy will be disappointed of their Prey, and  
"the Republic discharged of their Debts."

These Sentiments of *Boguslaus* were too agree-  
able to the Intentions of the Seditious, to meet  
with any Contradiction. On such Occasions the  
Eyes of the Multitude are fixed upon him who  
has most Boldness and Resolution. *Boguslaus* was  
unanimously proclaimed General of the Army,  
and they cloak'd their Revolt under the Name of  
*The Confederation*.

Deputies sent  
by the Army  
to the Diet.

The new General laid a great Part of the Coun-  
try under Contribution, and presently after dis-  
patched his Deputies to the Senate. When they  
came thither, they boldly demanded, that the  
Army,

Army, which consisted of 30000 Men, should be paid all the Arrears which were due to them for ten Years past. These Demands were accompanied with Menaces, and all stood amazed to see the Republic thus braved by its Subjects, and Laws in this manner impos'd upon it.

But this Demand, though made by Mutineers, was notwithstanding just. All the World was convinced, that it was both reasonable and necessary, but the Means were wanting to satisfy it; as the Finances had been in the Hands of that sort of People who live upon the Misfortunes of the Public. It was then proposed to apply the Treasures, hoarded up by *Sobieski*, to this Use; but the Retreat and Protestations of the Deputy of *Czernichovia* warded off so fatal a Blow from the Royal Family.

This Step broke up the Diet, which could not be renewed but by the Removal of the Opposition. Part of the Deputies, however, agreed upon thirteen Articles, which principally concerned the Establishment of the *Romish* Religion, the Liberty of the Election, which was limited to the Time interposed betwixt the 15th of *May*, and the 16th of *June*; the Payment of the Army, and the Affairs of the late King's Household. One of these Articles excluded all the *Piastes*, or Natives of the Country, from the Crown, that by this Means all the Troubles might be prevented which could arise from Jealousy.

*The Diet broke up.*

*Articles agreed on in the Diet.*

There were likewise some fruitless Attempts in the Diet, to make up the Differences between Prince *Sapieha*, the Palatine of *Wilna*, and Grand General of *Lithuania*, and the Bishop of *Wilna*, who had excommunicated him for quartering his Troops upon the Estates of the Nobility and Clergy. Some time after the breaking up of the Diet, the Army of *Lithuania* enter'd into a Con-

Confederation of the Army of Lithuania.

federation, under the Command of *Oginski*, Grand Ensign of the Duchy. The Estates of *Sapieha* and his Adherents were plundered by these new Rebels, who marched against them, and cut off a great Number of them.

Letter from the Palatine of Witops intercepted.

Whilst *Sapieha* was obstinately sacrificing them to his own Vengeance, rather than the Tranquility of the Public, his Couriers intercepted a Letter, from the Palatine of *Witops* to the Queen; in which he conjur'd her to dispatch with all Speed a fresh Supply of Money, to rescue *Oginski* from the Danger to which he was exposed. *Sapieha* caused this Letter to be registred, and sent a Copy of it to all the Dietines throughout the Kingdom, charging the Queen with the Revolt of the Army of *Lithuania*. The lesser Diets received the Impression which the Grand General intended they should, and the Queen's Party was so shock'd with this unforeseen Accident, that they afterwards were never able to hold up their Heads.

The Queen charg'd with the Revolt of the Army.

The *Abbé de Polignac*, Ambassador of *France* in *Poland*, building his Hopes on these late Circumstances, and perceiving that the Troubles of *Lithuania* would be an Obstacle to the carrying on of his Designs, prevail'd upon the Son of *Sapieha*, Petty Marshal of the Duchy, and an intimate Acquaintance of *Oginski*, to labour at an Accommodation with his old Friend. And one of the private Conditions of the Treaty was to be the Union of the two Parties, in favour of the Candidate whom the Ambassador of *France* should propose.

Agreement with *Oginski*, General of that Army.

Nov. 26. *Abbé Polignac's* Project succeeded, and the 1696. Agreement being signed, the Confederates submitted to the Grand General. *Oginski* was very much blamed for coming to an Accommodation, without including the Bishop of *Wilna*, who had been the Pretext of the Confederation.

In

## Revolutions of POLAND. 341

In the mean time, the Army of Poland, under the Command of *Boguslaus*, plunder'd *Russia*, whilst the *Tartars*, to the Number of 50000, laid waste *Volhinia*. They returned loaden with Spoils, carrying back with them a great Number of Slaves into their own Country. There were but few faithful Troops left to the Republic, wherewithal to restrain the Irruptions of the *Tartars*; and besides, they had Business enough upon their Hands from the Confederate Army. Poland was under the Apprehension of a second Irruption from those *Barbarians*, when the *French* Ambassador offer'd to divert the Storm, by compounding the Business with the Sultan for 100000 Florins. Such were the Methods made use of by that able Minister, to fix the *Poles* more firmly in his Interest, whom he had already gain'd by his Magnificence and Politeness, and by that noble Address and Openness of Behaviour, which never fail of procuring Respect and Confidence.

In the mean time, all the Negotiations with the Confederate Army fell to the Ground. The General of those Troops plunder'd the Country adjacent to *Warsaw*, and detach'd twelve Companies, which entered into Royal *Prussia*. They more particularly ravaged the Estate of the late King's Family; which raised a Suspicion that the Ambassador of *France* held some Correspondence with them, and that he seemed desirous to put the Royal Family out of a Condition to support their Interest in the ensuing Election, that the Candidate, proposed by him, might find no Obstacle from that Quarter. The Politicians likewise gave out, that he had promis'd those Troops all the Pay that was due to them, besides large Contributions for their Voices, over and above,



One bold Stroke proved a more powerful Remedy than all the Applications which, till then, had been made to the Rebels. *Boguslaus*, who was ever at the Head of the Confederates, disowned the Treaty concluded by his Deputies at *Leopold*, and ventur'd to justify his Conduct by a Manifesto. The Commissioners of the Republic assembled in that City, to bring back the Army to their Duty, made a Decree, by which the Marshal of the Confederation, and his Soldiers, were declared Enemies to their Country. A great Number of the Confederates found in *Boguslaus* a mere Tyrant, and seem'd disposed to quit his Colours, to enjoy the Indemnity offer'd them by the Republic. This General raised their Envy by a Profusion, which would have scarce been pardon'd in a Prince. Besides, having disclaim'd the Deputies of the Army, who treated with the Bishop of *Plosko*, and the other Commissioners of the Republic, at *Leopold*, he had condemned the Principal of them to lose his Head. This arbitrary Proceeding gain'd him the Disaffection of the Confederates, and Compassion for the miserable Deputy. Supporting the Jealousy they had already conceived against the General, forty Companies divided from the rest of the Army, who were upon the Point of following their Example. *Boguslaus*, fully sensible of the Blow which this Defection gave to his Authority, and apprehending that he might not soon be in so good a Condition to obtain advantageous Terms, made haste to submit, that he might not draw upon himself the Indignation of the Diet, which was upon the point of meeting. Count *Jablonowski*, who was suspected to be at the Bottom of the Confederation, promoted the Treaty, and took great Care to efface the smallest Footsteps of that Rebellion.

The Army of  
Poland re-  
turns to their  
Duty.

Such

Such was then the Situation of *Poland*, whose Misfortunes arising from the private Intrigues of the Pretenders to the Crown, were every Day increasing. At first there appeared but a small Number of Candidates upon the Stage, but they soon after offer'd themselves in great Abundance. Prince *James*, the late King's eldest Son, his second Son Prince *Alexander*, the Elector of *Ba-*  
*varia*, the Grand Marshal of the Crown, the Grand General of *Lithuania*, *Opalinius* Starost of *Nowemicyski*, the Princes of *Conti*, *Lorrain*, *Baden*, and *Newburg*, were all upon the Lists.

*Competitors  
for the Crown*

Besides the Favour of the Palatinates, the Advantages on Prince *James's* Side, were the Services done by his Father; the Reputation himself had gained in two Battles against the *Turks*, and at the raising the Siege of *Vienna*; the Alliance he had contracted with divers sovereign Powers, by espousing a Princess of *Newburg*, whose Sisters shared the Thrones of the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; the Inclinations of the King of *Sweden*; the Czar of *Muscovy*, the Elector *Pa-*  
*latin*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*.

*Prince James  
one of the  
Pretenders.*

*The Advan-  
tages on his  
Side.*

But all these Advantages were counterbalanc'd by the Queen his Mother, who was eagerly bent on placing her second Son upon the Throne. Prince *James*, in great Indignation at the Queen's Conduct, forbore to pay her the Respect which was due to a Mother. And for her part, if ever she recollected that he was her Son, it was only to give an Edge to her Hatred, and disserve him with the greater Warmth; but she paid dear for her ill Treatment of him. Convinced at last by Time, that it was impossible for her to raise her second Son to the Throne, Ambition wrought in her the Office of Nature: She  
 espoused the Interest of her eldest Son, talked of

*He is dis-  
serv'd by the  
Queen his  
Mother.*

*She espouses  
his Interest.*

him in a different Language than before, and describ'd him in fairer Colours. But it was then too late, and the Impression she had already made, was too deep to be effaced. It was to no purpose to solicit the Ambassador of *France*, to join with her in favour of Prince *James*. That Minister was far from entring into her Views; he had even made an Advantage of the Divisions between the Mother and the Son, to weaken the Interest of the latter, and help forward the Scheme of setting the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of the Prince of *Conti*. Supported by the Court of *France*, and beloved by the *Polish* Nobility, who allow'd him the Liberty of continuing at *Warsaw*, whilst they persisted in keeping the Queen at a Distance, he thought it was Time to declare the Candidate, for whose Advancement he was solicitous. This he did in a Discourse address'd to the Diet of *Poland*. The Ambassador spoke with that strong and moving Eloquence, which at the same time convinces and persuades. He laid before the *Poles* the Union of *Lewis XIV.* with the late King *Sobieski*; the Alliance of the two Nations, almost from Time immemorial; the great Agreement of Manners between the *French* and *Poles*; the Solidity of the Treaties made by the Republic under the Protection of *France*, and the Power and Glory of the King his Master, whose Forces he offer'd them against their Enemies. He concluded his Discourse with flattering them as the only People, who had preserved to themselves the Privilege of crowning Virtue.

Immediately the opposite Parties to the Prince of *Conti*, though divided amongst themselves by different Interests, joined together, to set aside his Election. All the Courts in *Europe* resounded the Complaints which were brought thither, and the

*The Amba-  
sador of  
France de-  
clares the  
Candidate to  
be in View.*

the Ministers of the Allies at War with *France*, took care to spread them throughout all *Poland*.

Nor were these the only Methods made use of, The Bishop of Cujavia writes to the Ambassador to divert him from his Project. in prejudice to the Prince of *Conti*. The Bishop of *Cujavia*, to take off from the Zeal of *Abbé Polignac*, wrote to that Ambassador, to desire he would desist from any fruitless Attempts, and save the King his Master the Discredit of not succeeding in such an Affair as this.

*Abbé Polignac* publish'd the Answer he gave to the Prelate's Letter. After having confuted his Objections, he draws the Character of such a King as *Poland* required; describes the Prince of *Conti*; compares the two Pictures, and shews their exact Resemblance. He then lays open, in strong Terms, the Advantages the Republic would find in the Election of a Prince of *France*, whose Country was divided from *Poland*, by the Interposition of vast Seas, and immense Territories; Advantages, which could not occur in any Princes, who, from their Neighbourhood to the Kingdom, might make them tremble for their Liberty. He then makes large Promises to the Nobility, and concludes with desiring the Bishop of *Cujavia* to embrace the Party, which was most favourable to the Interest of the Republic. The Ambassador's Answer to the Bishop of Cujavia.

This Answer did not go without a Reply. The Author rallied the *Poles* for biting at the Golden Hook, which *France* had cast out for them. He then discussed the Reasons and Promises of the *French* Ambassador, and concluded with saying, that *Poland* wanted a King to make War upon the *Turks*, and not upon Christian Princes, which could not morally be expected from the Prince of *Conti*. There were likewise sent abroad some other Remarks upon the *French* Minister's Letter. But what concerned him most in this Affair was, the Anger the Queen express'd against him, who charged Meets with a Reply.



The Queen  
displeased  
with Abbé  
Polignac.

charged him with having spoke disrespectfully of her, upon the Bishop of *Cujavia*'s saying in his Letter, that the Example of the Queen, who was a *French* Woman, diverted *Poland* from any Thoughts of advancing a *French* Prince. She complain'd of it to the *Abbé de Polignac*, in a very angry Letter. The Minister wrote to her Majesty, by way of Excuse, in Hopes to pacify her; but this Step produc'd a Reply more full of Resentment than the former.

The Court of  
France ap-  
plied to  
against Abbé  
Polignac's  
Scheme.

But these were not the only Contradictions *Abbé Polignac* had to struggle with from the Enemies of *France*. After having alarmed the Powers of *Europe*, upon the Election of the Prince of *Conti*, and attempted to divert the Ambassador from the Pursuit of his Scheme, they sent Word to the Court of *France*, That they suffer'd themselves to be misled by the Enemies of the House of *Sobieski*; that the great Hopes, which made such a Shew in the Prince of *Conti*'s Eyes in *France*, were but false Lights in *Poland*; and that lastly it was a mere Chimæra to imagine, that *Poland* would ever set a *Frenchman* upon the Throne of the Republic. The Ministry of *France*, without giving Ear too much to these Insinuations, thought it prudent however, not to pass them over absolutely with Neglect. And thus *Abbé de Castagneres de Chateaufneuf* was secretly dispatched in *February*, under the Character of Envoy Extraordinary. 1697. Upon his Arrival in *Poland*, in the Month of *April*, he confirmed the Hopes of the Court of *France*, and sent Word, that two Things only were wanting to the Success of the Ambassador's Negotiations, which were, the making good his Promises, and the Prince's Presence.

Abbé de  
Chateaufneuf  
sent into Po-  
land.

Whilst one Part of the *Polish* Nobility was selling the Crown to the Prince of *Conti*, the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Leopold*, propos'd a

new

new Candidate ; and this was *Livio Odescalchi*, Livio Odescalchi, a Pretender to the Crown. the Nephew of Pope *Innocent XI.* This Prince made mighty Offers to the Diet ; his Wealth was set forth with Ostentation ; and this was to be given to the Republic as an Hostage for the Performance of his Promises.

The *Poles*, who are naturally fond of Raillery, Railleries upon this Subject. repay'd the *Italian's* Good-will with a Pasquinade, and the Consistorial Advocate *Monti-Cassini* his Envoy had the Vexation to see himself traduced as the Solicitor of a Cause, which, they said, his Master was prosecuting in *Poland.* To these Raileries they added, that *Odescalchi*, to gain his Point, was sending over into *Poland* all the Curiosities of *Italy*, such as the Drawings of great Masters, and antique Statues, which were valued at considerable Sums in the Catalogue they then sent abroad of them. They said farther, that he designed a Medal of *Otho* in Brass, for the Payment of two Quarters of the Army ; and that lastly, he would ingage to grace *Poland* with the Statues of *Pasquin* and *Morforio*, as soon as ever he should be crown'd.

The Prince of *Newburg* also appeared amongst The Prince of Newburg a Candidate. the Pretenders, but without Money, and far from being the Dupe of the Elector's Avarice.

The Prince of *Baden* likewise, one of the And the Prince of Baden. greatest Generals of his Age, offer'd himself in the Number of the Competitors. His Valour had secured the Throne of the Empire ; sav'd *Transilvania*, and triumphed over the *Turks* at *Salamkemen.* Germany ow'd to him the Safety of the Confederate Army upon the *Rhine*, and he was besides the Lord of a Country, rich enough to support its Prince without injuring his elective Dominions, and a Country so situate as to give no Umbrage to the *Polish* Liberty. The Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who serv'd him upon this Occasion,

sion, made him pay for his Interest, by engaging him to promise the Cession of the Sovereignty of Royal *Prussia*, and the Discharge of the Fealty and Homage which that Prince owed to *Poland* for Ducal *Prussia*.

*The Duke of Lorrain's Mother writes to the Diet, in favour of her Son.*

The Duke of *Lorrain's* Mother wrote to the Diet, in favour of her Son; but he was but eighteen Years old, and stripp'd of his Dominions, a Situation by no means favourable for the purchasing a Crown. It is not known for what Reasons the Elector of *Bavaria*, who might have obtain'd Suffrages, of a sudden forbore to solicit them. Some have said, that he followed the Views of the Court of *Vienna*, which had a Mind still to continue him at the Head of their Troops in the *Low Countries*, in Opposition to *France*; but the Interest of another does not seem to be a Motive powerful enough to make one decline the Acceptance of a Crown.

*Lubomirski, Opalinius, and Jablonowski, pretend likewise to the Crown.*

The Grand Marshal of the Crown, *Opalinius* the rich Starost of *Nowemicyski*, and the Grand General Count *Jablonowski*, the first Secular Senator in the Kingdom, shewed themselves likewise upon the Lists. It was thought the Queen, despairing of the Advancement of her own Family, employ'd the feeble Remains of her Party, in favour of *Jablonowski*, upon Condition that by marrying of her, he should give back to her one half of the Crown, which he owed wholly to her Interest.

*Character of the Prince of Conti.*

The Prince of *Conti*, born brave, as are all the *Bourbons*, was belov'd by the People for his Affability. He was trained up to the Art of War, under the Direction of his Uncle the Prince of *Condé*, and had given glorious Proofs, not only of his Skill in that Science, but of his Prudence withal, and a thousand other excellent Qualifications. Such was the King, whom *Abbé Polignac* offer'd

offer'd to *Poland*. And the Competitors of this Prince had indeed several Adherents, but there were united in him alone more than all the rest could boast of together.

The Ambassador of *France* began to think, with all *Poland*, that the Prince of *Conti* would prevail over all his Competitors, when a formidable Rival rose up, to stagger his Hopes. *Frederic Au-*  
*gustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, having had a Conference Frederic Augustus Elector of Saxony thinks of demanding the Crown of Poland.  
 at *Dresden*, with *John Przebendowski* Castelan of *Culm*, who had married the Daughter of General *Fleming* the Favourite of *Augustus*, and since his first Minister, followed the Instructions of that Polish Gentleman. This Castelan, at first, embrac'd the Interest of the Prince of *Conti*; but designing to raise his Fortune by his Suffrage, and considering that there were a great Number in that Party, who by their Rank and Merit would naturally be preferred before him, when the Prince came to reward those who had rais'd him to the Throne, he resolv'd to apply himself to a Candidate, who should owe his Advancement only to him. He was a bold Man, and made for the carrying on of an Intrigue; but is said to have not been so brave in the Field, as in a Diet. His Alliance with *Fleming* was the Original of the Rise of *Augustus*.

*Przebendowski* having wrote to this General, to send him Word what they talk'd in *Germany* of the Election of a King of *Poland*, *Fleming* made Answer, that the Elector of *Saxony* was desirous of being ranked in the Number of the Pretenders to the Crown. Upon this the Castelan privately takes a Journey to *Dresden*, and confers with the Elector upon the Means of succeeding in his Design. He laid before him, that the Ambassador of *France* was not able to get any more Money from the Bankers, since he had taken up  
 600,000



Przeben-  
dowski Ca-  
stelan of  
Culm in-  
forms the E-  
lector how to  
compass his  
Design.

600,000 Livres, which were already distributed among the *Poles*; that it was hardly probable the King of *France* would hazard the sending of Money *in specie*, especially at a Time when it would be difficult to hinder his Enemies from seizing upon the Supply, which they very much stood in need of, towards carrying on the War; that the Elector need only make his Offers, and he must gain the Crown; that the Nobility concerned, would be always more strongly influenc'd by ready Money, than the Sums they had either already receiv'd, or were put in Hopes of having hereafter; and that lastly, among People who sought for nothing but Money, the last Giver had always more Interest than they who had already spent their Substance upon them.

Chevalier  
Fleming is  
sent into Po-  
land.

The Amba-  
sador of  
France de-  
clines coming  
into the E-  
lector's  
Scheme.

The Elector, pursuant to these Instructions, laid up the Funds that were necessary; and having taken his Measures with the Court of *Rome*, towards removing the Obstacle of Religion, he privately sent Colonel *Fleming* to *Warsaw*. This Minister presents the Ambassador with a Letter from the Elector. *Abbé Polignac* was surprized, when they ask'd him, if he had received no Orders from the King, with whom the Elector insinuated that he had treated by the Mediation of Cardinal *Janson*. He very civilly answer'd, That he had no Orders; that besides he did not know what Foundation the Elector had for the Enquiry; that the Hopes of the Prince of *Conti* were never in a better Situation, than at present; that his Electoral Highness was perhaps prevail'd on by the Misreports that were spread abroad, which were merely an Artifice of the Queen's; and that lastly, *France* would supply him abundantly with all the Sums of Money that were requisite upon any Occasion.

The Court of *Dresden*, not satisfied with the Ambassador's Answer, went on briskly in the Pursuit of their Scheme, which we shall soon see put in Execution.

In the mean while the Day fix'd for the Diet of Election drew nigh. They made haste to finish the Fort and Bridge, which is usually built over the *Vistula*, upon the Election of a King. And lastly, upon the 15th of *May*, the Primate open'd the Diet with the usual Ceremonies, and the Bishop of *Plosko* made a Speech, to exhort the *Poles* to lay aside caballing, and confer the Crown upon the best Deserver.

1697.

*The Opening  
of the Diet  
of Election.*

The Diet could come to no Conclusion, before the Election of a Director or Marshal, whom the Greater *Poland* was to supply. But they could not agree about the Choice of this Officer. The Queen's Party, and the Faction of *France*, were desirous the Election should fall upon a Person devoted to their particular Interests. After great Difficulties, it was determined at last, to put an end to them, by referring the Election of the Marshal to the Votes of the *Pospolite*. *Humiecki* Marshal of the Preliminary Diet, who for that very Reason was excluded from all Claim to this Dignity, collected the Voices, and the Majority inclin'd to Count *Bielinski*. Of all the Pretenders to this Honour, this Lord was the most agreeable to *France*. He had married the Daughter of Count *Morstein*, who had a great Estate in this Kingdom. This Lady, who had an Heart intirely *French*, had a great Interest amongst the two Orders of the Nobility, and a great Ascendant over her Husband.

*Belinski  
chosen Mar-  
shal of the  
Diet.*

A Month was spent in Debates, when *Bielinski* was elected Marshal of the Diet. It was in this great Assembly that the Crown was properly set

Jan. 15.

to Sale. The Pretenders bid up for it to a Degree of Extravagance ; but the Greediness of that Heap of Nobility was too great to be satisfied.

*Intrigues of  
the Elector's  
Party.*

The Agent of the Elector of *Saxony* very properly distributed large Sums among the Nobility, and omitted nothing that might ruin the opposite Parties. He very artfully opposed the Deeds of *Saxony* to the Promises of *France* ; and no Day pass'd, but he found means to draw over some Voices from the Rivals of his Master. An Affair so well conducted, and supported by such actual Performances, laid the Foundation of his Prince's Greatness. He was not ignorant that the contending Parties would each keep firm to their respective Candidate ; but he foresaw withal, that to avoid a Rupture, they would be at last obliged to cast their Eyes upon a third Person, who would pay them liberally for their Voices, which the Necessity of coming to an Agreement would procure him from them.

*The Friends  
of the Prince  
of Conti meet  
at the Cardinal  
Primate's.*

He was not mistaken in his Expectations. As the Promises of *France* were not performed, the Friends of the Prince of *Conti*, meeting at the Cardinal Primate's, the Palatin of *Wilna* complain'd heavily of the Delays of *France*. They thought however, that the Prince's Arrival would hasten the Execution of the Ambassador's Promises ; and therefore they dispatched Letters, which were already drawn up, to press the Prince to make haste into *Poland*.

*Audience  
given to the  
Ambassadors,  
by the  
Diet.*

After many Debates, the Diet gave Audience to the Ambassadors of foreign Powers. *Davia*, the Pope's Nuncio, was heard on the 20th Day of the Month, and the Bishop of *Passau*, his Imperial Majesty's Ambassador, was admitted on the Day following. The Subscription of the Letter, which that Minister presented from his Master, gave great Offence. The Address was, *Inclytæ Reipublicæ.*

blicæ. They would have had him have added *serenissimæ*; but he excused himself, by saying, That he could change nothing of his own Authority. This Incident, joined to his making use of the Word *Vos*, instead of the Terms of Honour due to a Crown'd Republic, disoblig'd the Assistants to so high a Degree, that they abus'd him sharply: Notwithstanding he continued his Discourse, but with so much Spite and Resentment, that his Nose gush'd out a bleeding, and he was oblig'd to retire.

*The Bishop of Passau, Ambassador from the Emperor, affronted.*

Abbé Polignac, inform'd that Prince James's Friends were resolv'd to revenge upon him the Affront offer'd to the Emperor's Minister, instead of appearing at the Diet, printed his Offers, and distributed them sign'd with his Hand, and seal'd with his Arms. By this means he did not expose his Dignity, and disappointed the ill Intentions of his Enemies.

*The French Ambassador prevents the Affront design'd to be put upon him.*

Difficulties however arose one upon another, and the Minister of *France* stood in need of all his Ability to surmount them. The Bishop of *Plosko*, *Dzialinski* and *Wapowski*, came to him from the Council, and told him, that as he had not yet been able to make good his Promises, it seem'd impossible to avoid the Scission they were apprehensive of; and lastly, that there was but one Way of securing the Tranquillity of the Republic, and supporting the Honour of *France*; and this Expedient was to consent to the Election of the Elector of *Saxony*, who would indemnify his most Christian Majesty for all the Expences he had been at in *Poland*, and acknowledge that he ow'd his Crown to the Ambassador of *France*.

*Instances of the Council to engage Abbé Polignac to consent to the Election of the Elector.*

But this Remonstrance made no Impression. The Castellan of *Kalisch*, the Ambassador's intimate Friend, had been with him the Night before, and they had agreed upon an Answer to be

A a

given



Abbé Polignac goes to the Council, complains of the Lords, and engages them again to favour his Scheme.

given to the Deputies. *Abbé Polignac* waited upon them to the Council, and there laid open, with great Eloquence, the many Dangers, to which both Religion and the Liberty of *Poland* must be expos'd under a *Lutheran* and a *German* King.

“ Are you no longer (says he) apprehensive of  
 “ a Nation, which you have so often excluded  
 “ the Throne? Can *Germany* hope for more  
 “ favourable Circumstances of revenging upon  
 “ *Poland* the many abusive, tho’ just, Refusals  
 “ she has receiv’d, or preventing the like Affronts for the future, than by introducing Slavery and *Lutheranism*? ” The Ambassador not observing the Assembly to be mov’d, found he must set other Engines at Work, to make the Impressions he design’d. Well then,” continues he in a vehement Tone, “ since you suffer yourselves to be cast down upon the slightest Occasion, and force me to wish you had more Resolution, we will finish without you the Work you have help’d us to begin. I shall not have relied in vain upon a brave Nobility; if all their Efforts prove ineffectual, Prince *James* shall be the better for your Weakness. It is to him we will give the Crown. ’Tis he shall ascend the Throne, which Religion, the Interest of your Liberty, and the Honour of *France*, will not suffer to be enjoy’d by the Elector of *Saxony*.”

This Discourse made an Impression upon the Assembly. The Council repeated their Promise of serving the Prince of *Conti*, without any Dissentients, except the Palatine of *Witeps*, and the Castellan of *Czereske*, who were gain’d over by two thousand Crowns, which were given them by the Castellan of *Culm*.

If the Ambassador of *France* had been furnish’d with necessary Supplies of Money, the Prince of  
*Conti*

*Conti* had been King. *Potoski*, Palatine of *Cracow*, let the Cardinal know, that if they would consign over to him 30000 Crowns, whereof one Half should be paid down, he would pass over to the Side of *France* with all his Party. The Want of Money not allowing the Ambassador to purchase this Supply of Voices, he had the Vexation to see the Elector of *Saxony* buy them out of his Hands. This Example carried off *Jablonowski*, the Grand General of the Crown, and some other Lords, whose Desertion nevertheless did not so much weaken the *French* Faction, but that it would have prevail'd, had it not been for some other Accidents which interven'd.

The Members of this Faction were guided by very different Motives. A small Number serv'd the Prince of *Conti*, through an Admiration of his great Virtues, and the rest out of the Hatred they bore to the late King's Family. Prince *James*, not finding his Party strong enough to support his Claim, absolutely renounced all Pretensions to the Crown. This Step took off from the Warmth of some Palatinates for the Prince of *Conti*, whom they recommended indeed in the first Place; but they afterwards did as much for the Elector of *Saxony*, whom they recommended in the second.

At last the Term fix'd to the Diet for the Election drew nigh. The Palatinates, consisting of better than 100000 Noblemen, came into the Field of Election in the Plains of *Warsaw*. The Palatinates were divided into Companies, which amounted to two hundred and fifty. They were all on Horseback, except a few Gentlemen, whom Poverty compell'd to walk on Foot. Arm'd with old rusty Scythes, one would have taken them for a Company of Reapers; but they might be discern'd by the Fierceness of their Countenances,

*The Demand of Potoski, who treats with the Elector.*

*Prince James gives up his Pretensions.*

Jun. 25;

and the Right of disposing the Crown seem'd to be written on their Foreheads.

*Acclamations  
of the Pala-  
tines in fa-  
vour of the  
Prince of  
Conti.*

As soon as the Senators had harangued their Palatinates to sound the Sentiments of the Nobility, the Palatinate of *Plosko* cry'd, *Long live Conti*, and immediately raised their Sabres. *Siradia*, *Reva*, and the three Palatinates of *Prussia* answer'd, *Long live Conti*: The Name of *Conti* was carried from Rank to Rank. *Przependowski*, the Soul of the Elector's Party, not liking these Acclamations, and saying to the *Prussians*, that *Saxony* was as good as *Conti*, narrowly escaped being shot thro' the Head by the Chamberlain of *Marienburg*, but a Priest put by his Pistol with a Cane. The Friends of *Saxony*, in a Consternation, protested against whatever should be done in too hasty an Election, and procured the Nomination to be put off till the next Day, pursuant to a Law, which requires that all the Candidates be propos'd before the Election is finish'd.

*The Efforts  
of the Party  
of Saxony.*

In the mean time the Ministers of the several Competitors laboured earnestly to bring about their Designs. The *French* did all they could to persuade the Nobility, that the Elector's Conversion was a mere Fable. The *Saxons*, on the other hand, used their utmost Endeavours to have it thought real. They apply'd to the Nuncio to confirm the Certificate, which the Bishop of *Raab*, a Kinsman of the Electors, had given concerning his Conversion. But the Nuncio kept his Word with the Ministers of *France*, and held out till the next Morning, when Circumstances shewed him openly.

*Jan. 26.*

The Cardinal Primate, according to the Custom, said Mass in the Church of *St. John*; and the Bishop of *Plosko* made a Speech to the Assembly, in which he ingeniously let them know for what Candidate he was inclin'd; and then they all went into

into the Field of Election. The Senators being come into the *Colo*, the Cardinal Primate spoke with great Force and Eloquence: "The Throne of the Republic (says this Prelate) requires a King that is generous, mild, and affable; a King, who is a Soldier and an Officer." And then he nam'd the Competitors for the Crown. He praised every one of them in particular, with Reference either to their personal Qualifications, or the Dignity of their Families. He did not mention the Elector of *Saxony*, till he had spoken of all the rest; and then he said, it was but good Manners not to forget that Prince, whom otherwise his Zeal for Lutheranism would exclude from the Choice of the Nobility. After this Discourse, he bent one Knee to the Ground, and lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, "I swear (says he with a loud Voice) that I will not proclaim any Candidate to be King, who has not the unanimous Suffrages of the Nobility; but I likewise conjure you not to turn your Eyes upon any Subjects, but such as deserve to be chosen." He was still speaking, when the Senators left their Places to put themselves at the Head of their Palatinates. There were left in the *Colo* none but the Cardinal and the Marshal of the Diet, who had Information brought them of what was doing from time to time, according to which they issued out their Orders.

*The Cardinal makes mention of all the Candidates in the Colo.*

At last, the Palatinates being ranged in Order to give their Suffrages, three Companies of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, which has the Right of proclaiming first, at the Solicitation of their Palatine and Castellan, cried out, *Long live James the King's Son*. One Company of the Palatinate of *Poznania*, whose Privilege is to speak next, followed their Example, but faintly. The other

*Prince James is proclaim'd by some Companies.*



The Prince of  
Conti like-  
wise by most  
of the Pala-  
tates.

The Elector  
of Saxony  
has the Voi-  
ces of some  
Companies.

A Gentle-  
man who ex-  
press'd his  
Zeal for  
Prince James  
is shot thro'  
the Head.

The Strength  
of the Party  
of France.

The Nuncio  
confirms the  
Bishop of  
Raab's Cer-  
tificate.

Companies of other Palatinates raised their Voices to the Skies with pronouncing the Name of *Conti*. *Wilna* return'd the Accclamations with Zeal, and was join'd by the rest of the Palatinates. Whilst the Name of *Conti* resounded in every Rank, the Word *Saxony* was heard with Surprize to interrupt the Unanimity of Voices. Two Companies of *Samogitia*, which give their Votes after the eight former Palatinates, ventur'd to nominate the Elector. The Name of a *Lutheran* Prince had like to have drawn upon them the whole Body of the Nobility; but they maintain'd with so much Assurance, that the Elector had two Years before abjured his Errors at *Rome* (a Fact they said was attested by the Nuncio himself) that they gain'd over certain *Mazovite* Gentlemen, whom *Przependowski*, for a little Brandy and a Crown a Head, had dispos'd to believe every thing.

During these Transactions, a Gentleman of the Palatinate of *Plosko*, desirous to shew his Zeal for the late King's Family, presum'd to nominate Prince *James*. But he was immediately shot through the Head with a Pistol Bullet, and the Prince was no more spoken of. This unjust and violent Action did not find one single Avenger amongst all that Body of Nobility, who were Eye-witnesses of the Fact.

In the mean while the Party of the Prince of *Conti* shew'd themselves every Instant. The Friends of the Elector, apprehending the Triumph of *France*, dispatch'd Messengers to the Emperor's Ambassador, pressing him to procure the Nuncio's Attestation to the Bishop of *Raab's* Certificate, and adding, that if that could not be done, all was lost, and *Conti* would be chosen. The Nuncio readily complied with what was desired of him. And *Przependowski* ran to the As-  
sembly

sembly with a Certificate in Form, and his Followers cried out by his Orders, that the Elector was a good Catholic, and 'twas his Holiness's Request that he should be crown'd.

Great Numbers, giving Credit to these Declarations, took part with *Saxony*, and before Noon his Faction was superior to the Parties of *Newburg*, *Lorrain*, and *Baden*. The Cardinal Primate, not being able to distinguish on which Side the Majority lay, by reason of the Noise and Tumult which confounded their Voices, order'd, that the Nobility who favour'd *Conti*, should stand on one Side, whilst the Friends of the other Candidates should range themselves on the other. Of two hundred and fifty Companies there were but thirty six, who declar'd for the Rivals of *Conti*; and the Prince must have been King, if the Cardinal had not wanted Courage. The Prelate gave greater Signs of Irresolution some few Moments after. The Bishops of *Cujavia*, *Posnania*, and *Livonia*, who were in the Interest of the Elector of *Saxony*, retired to *Warsaw*, frightened at the Number of the *Contistes*, and the fierce Countenance of the Castellan of *Kalisch*, who, mounted upon a War-horse, encourag'd the Nobility to take up Arms, and cut to pieces the small Number of Opponents, if they still persisted in their Obstinacy. Under these Circumstances the Primate might have nominated without Opposition; but the Fear of shedding *Polish* Blood kept him unresolv'd, and he consented to put off the Election till the next Day, under a Pretence, that it was then too late for it.

The principal Adherents to the Elector of *Saxony*, having recover'd themselves from the Fright, which the Party of *France* had thrown them into, met at the Emperpr's Ambassador's. Thither also came the Ministers of all the other

*Separation  
of the differ-  
ent Parties.*

Several Parties join in favour of Saxony.

Pretenders, except the Ambassador of *France*; and there they all joined against the Prince of *Conti*, and agreed to support the most powerful Party, or rather to make but one, in favour of the Elector of *Saxony*.

Pursuant to these Resolutions, every one furnished what Money they had by them. These Sums, with the Bills of Exchange paid upon Sight by the *Jews*, amounted to eighteen hundred thousand Livres, which were distributed in the Camp that Night. The Eloquence of the Senators, and the Engagements of the Nobility, could not hold against such prevailing Motives. All the Companies, which had before supported the Claims of the different Candidates, went over to the Party of *Saxony*. Eleven Companies of the *French* Faction embrac'd the Cause of the Elector; but this Desertion was in part repair'd by the Acquisition of seven of their Companies, who ranged themselves under the Standard of *Conti*.

The Palatine of Wilna divides from his Party, and joins them again.

After many Negotiations, the Time came at last for concluding the Election. The Bishops of *Cujavia*, *Poznania*, and *Livonia*, were so terrified the Night before, that they durst not attempt any thing, and all seem'd to favour the Prince of *Conti*, when the Palatine of *Wielun*, who was even more irresolute than the Cardinal, went and posted himself, in Sign of Neutrality betwixt *Saxony* and *Conti*, at the Head of the Palatinate of *Volhinia*, the District of *Wilna*, and some *Lithuanian* Companies. The Primate, surpriz'd at this Action, knew not what to think of it, but could not imagine that *Sapieha* was going to offer himself, after so many *Piastes* had been excluded. This Palatine floated all the Morning between certain Views of Ambition or Interest, and the Solicitations of his Friends and the Lords of his Family, who

who intreated him not to occasion any fresh Trouble by a Change so little expected. At last, the same Caprice, which had divided him from the Party of *Conti*, brought him back to it rather than any of the Solicitations, to which he seem'd to yield.

*Sapieha's* Return having taken away all Hope from the Saxons, of making any Advantage of the Irresolution and Cowardice of that Palatine, they sought still to put off the Election. *Gorowski*, Castellan of *Gnesna*, advanced between the two Parties, and made a Sign that he had something to communicate to the French Faction. The Bishop of *Kiow*, who was deputed to hear him, brought back Word, that his Party demanded a Conference in the midst of the *Colo*, in the Presence of the Primate and the Marshal.

*The Party of Saxony confers with that of France.*

This being consented to, the Deputies of Saxony proposed to give up *Saxony*, *Newburg*, *Lorrain*, *Bavaria*, and the Royal Family, provided the opposite Party would abandon *Conti*. This was only an Artifice to gain Time; and thus they made no Difficulty of seeming to accept of their Proposition. At the Time to sound them, and make them throw off the Mask, they offer'd the Prince of *Baden*. *Jablonowski* rejected him, because he was propos'd by *Lubormiski*. The Bishop of *Ploske*, returning from *Warsaw*, whither he had been to talk over this Matter with *Abbé Pclignac*, to confound *Jablonowski* the more, declar'd in favour of the Prince of *Baden*. The Palatines were highly displeas'd at these new Proposals, but Pains were taken to make them comprehend, that they were offer'd with no other View, than to expose the opposite Party; these Excuses however were not satisfactory to them, and they call'd out loudly upon the Primate to put an End to the Election.

*The Proposals of the Party of Saxony accepted.*

*The Prince of Baden proposed by the Party of France.*

*The Designs of the Party of Saxony exposed.*

This



*The Bishop  
of Cujavia's  
Letter to the  
Pimate.*

*Menaces of  
a Scission.*

*The Indig-  
nation of the  
Nobility a-  
gainst the  
Party of  
Saxony.*

*The Prince  
of Conti  
elected.*

Jun. 27.

*The Elector  
of Saxony  
elected.*

This Prelate was upon the Point of giving the Benediction, when a Letter was put into his Hands from the Bishop of *Cujavia*. He read it loud enough to be heard by those who stood near him. In this Letter the Bishop of *Cujavia* threatened a Scission of forty Companies in favour of *Saxony*, in case they nominated the Prince of *Conti*, assuring the Cardinal notwithstanding, that he would in no wise have encroach'd upon the Rights of his Primacy, if he had not been compell'd to it by Force.

The Nobility, enrag'd at the Stiffness of an handful of obstinate People, redoubled their Importunities to have this great Affair brought to a Conclusion. And the Pimate at last, being no longer able to resist their pressing Instances, declar'd that the Republic made Choice of *Francis Lewis de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, to be King of *Poland* and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

The opposite Party not daring to stir, for fear of being cut to pieces by the greater Number, waited till the Multitude was dispersed; and then the Bishop of *Cujavia* with forty Companies, being under no farther Apprehension, nominated *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*; and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*. This News was brought to the Cardinal, as he was returning to his Palace, after having sung *Te Deum* in the Church of *St. John* at *Warsaw*. He was advis'd to use violent Methods against the Mutineers; but his natural Mildness diverted him from it.

The Bishop of *Cujavia*, having sung *Te Deum* upon the Place of Election, came to *Warsaw*, where he repeated that Ceremony in the Church of *St. John*; and being desirous to observe, in Shew at least, all the Rules that were usual in an Action of that Consequence, he took great Care

to

to make Reparation for a Fault, which he had committed through over-much Haste, in nominating the Elector out of the Electoral Camp. He return'd thither early the next Morning, and repeated the Nomination, as if that Step could have set all right. And lastly, to give the finishing Stroke to what he was about, he administred the Oath, for observing the *Paſſa Conventa*, to the Chevalier *Fleming* by fix o' Clock, who took upon himself the Character of Envoy Extraordinary.

*The Bishop of Culavia repeats the Nomination of the Elector of Saxony.*

The Day after the Election there passed some Conferences between the two Parties. It was propos'd to observe the Laws of the Kingdom, which require that none of the Competitors nominated should set Foot in the Kingdom till after the Diet of Confirmation; but the Friends of Saxony depending upon the Proximity of the Elector, and secure of the Distance of his Rival, refus'd absolutely to comply with those Propositions.

*Conferences between the two Parties.*

During the Course of these Debates, *Abbé Polognac* had dispatch'd a Courier into France, to press for the Departure of the Prince, and such Supplies of Money as were necessary to keep the Lords firm in his Party. This Courier, who was the Ambassador's Secretary, to make a Merit of the good News he brought, disguised the Truth, and represented the Party opposite to the Prince of *Conti* as an insignificant Handful of People, adding, that the new King should wait for the Embassy of the Republic. But a second Courier, who arriv'd within two Days after, set Matters in a true Light, and the Prince prepar'd for his Journey, but did not set out till the Cardinal had given him Notice of his Election under his Hand. The Prelate's Letter was to have been brought by the preceding Courier; but the Person, who was to have given it him, being to set out within

*Jun. 14. Couriers dispatched into France.*

two Days after, kept it to carry himself: And it may be, these little Circumstances, which delay'd the Prince's Departure, might in great measure occasion the ill Success of this Affair.

*Declaration  
of the Poles  
to the Am-  
bassador of  
France.*

In the mean time, the Profusion of the Elector of Saxony daily increased the Number of his Followers; besides, he was upon the Frontiers of Poland. The Prince of Conti's Friends, affrighted to see him so near them, told the *French* Ambassador, that the Instrument of Election should not be given into his Hands, till he had paid off the four Quarters of the Army; and if those Clauses could not be fill'd, he had nothing to do but to countermand the Prince.

*Departure of  
the Prince of  
Conti.*

A Declaration so little expected, threw the Ambassador into the utmost Confusion, and he determined to inform the Court of *France* of the Resolution of the Lords. This News again put off the Prince's Journey. Preparations however were making for his Departure, and he embark'd at last at *Dunkerque*, on board the little Squadron of Chevalier *Bart*, attended by the Chevaliers *d'Angouleme*, *Sillery*, *Lanzun*, and twenty Gentlemen. The Prince carried with him an 100000 Louis d'Ors, Bills of Exchange payable upon Sight for the like Sum, and a great Number of Jewels. He anchored before *Oliva*, and was saluted with three Discharges of Cannon from the Fort of *Weychelmunde*. These were all the Honours which *Dantzick* paid the Prince. The Magistrate of the City had dispos'd the Inhabitants to favour the Elector. The Majority of the Citizens declar'd for him, and even insulted the Officers of the *French* Squadron. To revenge the Affront, they laid hold upon five Merchant Ships, which lay in the Road; and the Magistrates, by way of Reprisal, seiz'd upon all the Effects of the *French*, and carried their Resentments

*He arrives  
at Dantzick  
Sept. 23.*

ments so far as to sell the Horses of the Ambassador of *France* to the highest Bidder.

During these Transactions, the Ambassador was using all possible Endeavours to open the Way for the Prince of *Conti's* Entrance into *Poland*. The Lords of the House of *Sapieha* had engag'd for the Sum of 400000 Livres, to send the Prince a Guard of twelve Companies under the Command of the Grand Treasurer's Son; and then the Grand General of *Lithuania*, and all the Officers of the Army, were to take the Oath, and march with their Troops to the Place which should be appointed. But first of all the Prince was oblig'd to pay them four hundred and sixty thousand Livres.

The Ambassador having thus taken all necessary Measures, went on board the *French Squadron*. The Prince's Friends, who came to see him, advis'd him to go to *Marienburg* or *Lowitz*, but he chose rather to wait for the coming up of the *Sapieha's*. Couriers were continually passing, which brought Word, that they were just at hand with some *Lithuanian* Senators, who, in Conjunction with the *Polish* Embassy, were to present the Crown to the Prince of *Conti*.

Octob. 2.

*The Prince waits on board for the Troops that were promis'd him.*

The Elector of *Saxony*, before the Arrival of his Competitor, had received an Embassy from his Party at *Tarnowitz*, upon the Frontiers of *Silesia*; and marching from thence to *Pickari*, he there repeated the Abjuration of his Errors before *Crispin* Bishop of *Samogitia*. There he swore to the Observance of the *Pacta Conventa*, and there also he received the Compliments of the Nobility, whom he assured of his paternal Tendernefs for his new Subjects. From thence, advancing as far as *Cracow*, he purchased the Delivery of the Castle of Count *Wielopolski* for five thousand Crowns, and

*The Elector of Saxony receives an Embassy from his Party.*

*He arrives at Cracow.*

a



a Necklace, which he presented to the Count's Lady.

Aug. 26.  
The Diet of  
Confirmation  
held by the  
Cardinal.

The Cardinal Primate, on his part, went with the Nobility of the *French* Party into the Electoral Camp, and there held the Diet of Confirmation. They next resolv'd upon a Confederation against the Elector of *Saxony*; and then breaking up the Inclosure of the Camp, to prevent the Meetings of the opposite Party in a Place of such Authority, the Primate return'd to *Warsaw*, where he caused the Confederation to be sign'd by Prince *Sapieha*, the Senators, Deputies, and Nobility of his Party. They had likewise enter'd into a Negotiation with the Elector, tho' without any Effect, to put off his Coronation, which was perform'd on the 15th of *September*. The Diet after this Ceremony had been quietly closed, the new King had already fill'd several Posts, and his Party had taken a Resolution to meet at *Warsaw* within six Weeks.

The Confederation of the  
Party of  
France sign-  
ed by the Se-  
nators and  
Nobles.

Octob. 1.

The Lam-  
poons of the  
Poles upon  
the present  
Affairs.

It is not below an Historian to take Notice of a Circumstance that may let us into the Knowledge of the Genius of the *Poles*, who are sometimes satisfied with revenging by a Jest the Injuries that are offer'd to the Liberties of the Nation. As soon as the Elector was crown'd, a Pasquinade was sent abroad under the Title of the *Comedy of Cracow*, in five Acts, with the Arguments of each Act. The first was a King without a Diploma; the second a Funeral Solemnity without a Corpse; the third a Coronation without a Primate; the fourth a Diet without Deputies; and the fifth Protestations without Effect. The Elector was not much displeased with such a Revenge as this, and would have been glad, if all the *Poles* had oppos'd no other Arms against his growing Power.

The

The Cardinal took all proper Measures to prevent his ascending the Throne, which had already cost him too dear to part with it without some Concern. This Prelate therefore having assembled the Confederates, recall'd the *Universalia* issued out for the General Assembly appointed to meet upon the 26th of *September*, and call'd together three particular Meetings upon the 10th of *October* in three different Places, in order to divide the Forces of the Enemy, in case they attempted to disturb the Assemblies.

*Assemblies called by the Cardinal.*

In the mean time the Prince of *Conti* waited for the Execution of the Promises of *Sapieha*. The Elector, inform'd that his Rival was determined not to land before the Arrival of regular Troops, took all possible Care to prevent his Descent. *Galecki*, Palatine of *Inowloclaw*, march'd into *Prussia*, by his Orders, at the Head of 3000 Horse. This Precaution succeeded as *Augustus* desired; for the Princes *Sapieha*, fearing to encounter with this Body of Horse, let the Primate know they had taken a Resolution not to set forward, for fear, as they said, they should expose their Troops to Slaughter.

*The Elector sends a Body of Troops to prevent the landing of the Prince of Conti.*

Notwithstanding these Disappointments, the Prince of *Conti* prepar'd to quit his Vessels, to put himself at the Head of 1500 Horse, which the Starost of *Sondek* had assured him were upon their March. But this Resolution was put off by the Arrival of the *Saxons*, who were divided into two Bodies, and march'd strait to *Oliva* and *Marienburg*. Their Arrival kept the Prince on board. He had already told the *Poles*, that he would return to *France*, if his Party did not make haste to perform their Promises. At last, tired out with the *Polish* Delays, arising from Deliberations, and increased by such perpetual Counsels, as are spent in Preliminaries, he weigh'd Anchor,

*Nov. 9. The Prince returns into France.*

and set sail for *France*. But this was not done till he was reduced to the last Extremity; for he had the Vexation to see the Abbey of *Oliva* plundered, and forty of his Domesticks lost, who were taken Prisoners by the *Saxons*.

*His Letters  
to the Pri-  
mate and the  
Republic.*

Before his Departure, he wrote two Letters, one to the Primate, and the other to the Republic. In the former he return'd Thanks to the Prelate for the Warmth wherewith he had espoused his Cause, and express'd his Concern, that his Eminence, and so many other worthy Men, should suffer upon his Account. But though his Rival was prefer'd before him, he comforted himself in this, that being a Prince of the Blood of *France*, he did not stand in need of the Splendor of a Crown. He added, that he gave up *Poland* to the Elector much against his Inclination, and forced to it by the Failure of their Promises, who had engag'd to send Forces to his Assistance. But in his Letter to the Republic, he wrote in another Tone. He there accused the Great Men with Breach of Faith, after earnest Solicitations on their part, and charged them with inviting him into *Poland* on purpose to be affronted.

*Augustus  
makes his  
Entry into  
Warsaw,  
Jan. 13.*

*Augustus* finding himself freed from the Apprehensions of his Rival, began at last to take Breath, and turn'd his Thoughts towards the Confirmation of his Authority, by all those Ceremonies which impose upon the People. For this reason he made his Entry into *Warsaw*. When this was over, he strove by all possible Means to gain the Cardinal, who seem'd disposed to acknowledge him. The Prelate went so far as to promise, that he would promote his Interest in the *Rokosz*, or Assembly of the Confederates he had call'd together. *Augustus* was happy in having to do with a Man, who was govern'd by Circumstances; and he stood in need of the Cardinal; for in the Diet  
of

of Pacification, which that Prince had call'd together at *Warsaw*, of the twenty Persons who came thither, including both Senators and Deputies, twelve had protested against him the first Day, which had broke up the Diet, and given a convincing Proof that he had but a small Number of Followers, and was by no means chosen by the almost unanimous Consent of all the *Poles*, as some Libels ventur'd to assert.

*The Diet of Pacification assembled and broke up.*

The *Rokosz*, which was then held at *Lowitz*, was as full as the Diet of Pacification had been empty. The King's Deputies were oblig'd to ask for other Letters and other Powers, because the Title of Commissioners which they bore, and some other Terms in them, gave Offence to that haughty Body of Nobility, who look upon themselves, in some measure, as in a Condition to impose Laws upon the Prince who calls himself their King. At last they received the Letters of *Augustus*, and offer'd to acknowledge his Authority, upon the Conditions that were then drawn up. They contain'd twenty Articles, and absolutely tied up his Majesty's Hands. His Deputies, not caring to subject their Master to such hard Terms, did all they could to engage the Assembly to make some Abatements in the Rigour of the Conditions. But all they could obtain was to lessen their Number; and thus they were oblig'd to expect from Time, what they could not obtain from the Inflexibility of the *Rokosz*.

Feb. 18:  
*The Rokosz held at Lowitz.*

*Conditions offer'd to the King.*

The Pope, desirous, upon some account or other, to intermeddle with the Affair of *Poland*, had dispatch'd a Nuncio extraordinary, who presented a Letter to the Cardinal from his Holiness. The Pontif offer'd, by his Minister, to be the Mediator between the King and the Republic. The Primate made Answer, that tho' he was subject to the Pope in Matters Spiritual, he besought

Feb. 25.

*The Pope writes to the Cardinal Primate. The Primate's Answer to the Pope.*



him, not to concern himself in Points relating to the Republic; for he should think he deserved the Reproaches of the Nobility, and should become a Traitor to his Country, if ever he gave up its Interest.

*The Diet of  
Pacification.*

*Augustus* was very desirous to put an End to the Divisions which kept him still in Suspense. With these Views he call'd a Diet of Pacification, to meet on the 16th of *April*. His circular Letters, which were sent abroad upon this Occasion, were full of mighty Schemes and fine Promises; but the *Poles* were as yet too wary to be caught by such Baits, which usually catch those only who are disposed to be so caught. The Diet assembled at the Time appointed; but of the two hundred, who ought to have been present, there came thither only thirty Deputies of certain Palatinates in *Poland* and *Lithuania*. It was no sooner open'd, than the most Part of them rose up, and demanded the Convocation of a General Assembly in the open Field, and threaten'd to retire, in case of Refusal. They soon after did as they said, and there was no Possibility of getting them together again.

*The Deputies  
of the Diet  
demand a ge-  
neral As-  
sembly.*

In the mean while *Augustus* exercised as many kingly Acts as he had Opportunity of doing; as particularly appear'd in the Case of *Oginski* Grand Ensign of *Lithuania*, and *Sapieha* the Grand General of that Duchy, whom he forbid to decide their Quarrel by Force of Arms, and advised rather to make up their Differences in an amicable manner.

*The Primate  
dispos'd to  
acknowledge  
Augustus.*

This Prince, who had already given a public Audience to the Pope's Nuncio Extraordinary, engag'd him to intercede with the Cardinal, and dispose him to Peace. The Cardinal, who was an Enemy to Troubles, through his natural Timidity, promis'd to do all that lay in his Power

to pacify them. In short, he called together a new Assembly of the Confederates at *Lowitz*, who met upon the Day appointed by the *Universalia*, which were publish'd on this Occasion; and the Primate so artfully introduc'd into the Assembly the favourable Sentiments he had for *Augustus*, that at last a Treaty was concluded with him, by which he engaged to give authentic Proofs of his Catholicism; to dispatch the *Lutheran* Ministers, and to restore by a solemn Act the Liberty of Votes in all future Elections. He farther promis'd, never to demand back from the Republic, the Sums he had bestow'd upon his Party; to pay what was due to the Army, and to recover the conquer'd Places which had been taken from *Poland*. This Treaty likewise oblig'd him to send back his *Saxons*, and to repair the Damages they had done. It farther contained some other Articles, tending to the Good of *Poland*. One single Deputy of the Palatinate of *Sandomir* withdrew from the Assembly; but no Regard was paid to his Protestations, as the Assembly was not a Diet, but a free *Rokosz*, which could not be broke up by the Retreat of any Dissentients. The Cardinal would not have been so easy, but the Court of *France* advis'd him to come to an Accommodation with *Augustus*, and besides, he had no other Part to take.

May 5,

A Treaty  
made with  
*Augustus*.

It was on the 16th of *May* this great Affair was concluded, which supplied whatever was wanting in the Election of *Augustus*, who can be look'd upon only from that Time as the lawful King; the Nomination of the Bishop of *Cujavia*, and all the Steps which followed, being manifestly contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

One would think, that after this Treaty, the King should have been secure against the Restlessness of the Nobility, who had sign'd it, and

that as soon as he had recovered *Kaminiec* and *Podolia*, he should have sent back his *Saxons* into their own Country; but thro' a perpetual Distrust of a People, whom he found to comply only with the Time, he sought for Pretences to retain his Army in *Poland*, notwithstanding the Animosity of the *Poles* against the *Saxons*.

*History of  
the War  
with Swe-  
den.*

The *Muscovites* and *Poles* were by no means pleas'd to see *Livonia* subject to the *Swedish* Yoke. This Province, which had formerly belong'd to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, had been the Cause of a long War between three Nations. The Peace of *Oliwa*, at last, divided the Quarrel in favour of *Sweden*, which had long been in Possession of that fertile Country. A young King was then upon the Throne of *Sweden*; and the first Impressions which foreign Ministers had taken of that Monarch, had produc'd only a Contempt for him in the Courts of *Europe*. These Circumstances induc'd the Czar of *Muscovy* and the King of *Poland* to break the Treaty of *Oliwa*.

Aug. 10. These two Monarchs had an Interview at *Riga*, and concluded an Alliance, which had like to have ended in both their Ruins, as we shall presently see.

*The Treaty  
of Carlo-  
witz.*

1699.

Jan. 26.

*Augustus* stood in need of this Pretence, to keep a *Saxon* Army in *Poland*. The Treaty, which was lately concluded at *Carlowitz*, would have oblig'd him to send back his Troops. By this Treaty the Grand Signior consented to the Restitution of *Kaminiec*, *Podolia*, and all the other Places, which had been taken from the *Poles*.

Jan. 16.  
*A General  
Diet at  
Warsaw.*

Before the Execution of this Treaty, a General Diet was held at *Warsaw*, where the King attended regularly in Person. He had at last the Satisfaction of seeing what he had long waited for, the Act of his Election, sign'd by the Cardinal Primate and the Grand Chamberlain *Bie-*

*Leski*

*liniski*. And having then dispos'd of several considerable Posts, he made a Visit to his hereditary Dominions, where he settled the Affairs which required his Presence, and returned to *Warsaw*. The Day after his Return, he assembled the Senators, who were then in the Town, and laid before them the Advantage which would arise from the Conquest of *Riga*, the Capital City of *Livonia*, and the Necessity of assisting in that Enterprize.

Whilst *Augustus* was amusing the *Poles* with specious Pretences, *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* forc'd the King of *Denmark*, who had privately conspired his Ruin, with the *Pole* and *Muscovite*, to do Justice to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Holstein*. The young King then learnt, that the King of *Poland*, despairing to conquer the indefatigable Experience of Count *d'Alberg* the Governor of *Riga*, an Officer who had all the Fire and Activity of Youth at the Age of fourscore, had rais'd the Siege of that Place. *Augustus* eagerly laid hold of an Opportunity which presented itself, of withdrawing with Honour from the false Step wherein he was engag'd. The States General, desiring him, by their Ambassadors, to spare a Place wherein the *Dutch* had considerable Effects, he made a Merit of desisting from an Enterprize, which he had Cause to fear would miscarry.

The King of *Poland* was not the only Enemy who then fell upon the King of *Sweden*. *Peter Alexiowitz* Czar of *Muscovy*, ravag'd *Ingria* with an Army of 100,000 Men, and laid Siege to *Narva*, in the midst of the Ice and Snow, which at that time cover those Climates.

Upon the News of this Siege, *Charles XII.* whose insuperable Courage and Resolution, the Source of all his Misfortunes, were increas'd by his late Success, cross'd the Sea with two hundred Transports. The young Conqueror march'd

*Augustus visits Saxony, March 24, 1700.*

*War with Sweden.*

*The Siege of Riga is fail'd.*

*Narva besieged, Oct. 1.*

*The King of Sweden march'd to relieve Narva.*



streight to *Narva*, at the head of four thousand Horse, and a like Number of Foot. He routed an advanc'd Guard of 5000 *Muscovites*, posted in his Way, and put all to Flight before him. A Body of 20000 Men durst not wait his coming up, and 30000 *Muscovites*, plac'd within a League of the Camp, were carried away with the Torrent of the flying Soldiers, and retired to the Intrenchments. *Charles XII.* appears within View of the Camp, makes a Breach in the Intrenchments, enters with his eight thousand *Swedese*, and takes almost all the *Muscovites* of the Right Wing Prisoners: The rest ran to bury themselves under the Ruins of the Bridge of the River of *Narva*, which broke down under them. The Generals of the Enemy laid their Arms at the Conqueror's Feet, who kept them Prisoners alone, whilst the Soldiers were dismiss'd, to terrify their Fellow-Countrymen with an Account of the Battle. The Enemy's Left Wing, which was still subsisting, came and surrender'd the next Morning, to the Number of 30000 Men, whom *Charles* likewise permitted to return into *Muscovy*.

This great Victory disturb'd the Measures of the *Czar* and *Augustus*. The latter soon expected to see the King of *Sweden* in *Poland* repay, with Fire and Sword, the Ravages of *Livonia* and *Ingria*. It was necessary to raise up Banks, to oppose this Torrent; and this was the Occasion of the Interview of these two Allies at *Birzen* a small Town in *Lithuania*. *Augustus* promis'd the *Czar* 50000 *German* Troops, which he undertook to hire of the Princes of the Empire, and the *Czar* was to pay them. The *Czar*, on his side, agreed to send a like Number of *Muscovites* into *Poland*, to be trained up there in military Discipline; and farther engag'd, in two Years Time, to supply *Augustus* with nine Millions of *Livres*.

This

The *Muscovites* defeated.

1701.

The Treaty of the King of *Poland* with the *Czar*.

This Treaty, which was concluded without the Consent of the Republic, was by no means approved of by the *Polish* Nobility. The General Diet, which was open'd at *Warsaw* on the 30th of *May*, desired *Augustus* to send back the *Saxon* Troops, and make Peace with *Sweden*; to remove the *Germans* from the Council Board, and appease the Troubles of *Lithuania*. The King's Answer could not calm the Uneasiness of the Nobility, who were jealous of their Liberty; and the Diet divided into several little Provincial Assemblies, where none but *Poles* were present, with a View of providing a more secure Remedy for the Ills of which they were apprehensive. All the Deputies joined in demanding the Convocation of a new General Diet, at such Time as the King pleas'd, who fix'd it to the 22d of *December*.

*A General Diet at Warsaw.*

*Charles XII.* inform'd of the Designs of the Czar and King of *Poland*, hastened into *Livonia*, that he might be beforehand with his Enemies. He arrived near *Riga*, upon the Banks of the *Duna*, over against the *Saxon* Army, which lay encamp'd on the other Side of the River. His Troops cross'd it on Boats of the King's Invention, whose Sides were moveable, and might be lifted up, or let down, like Draw-bridges, and so be of use to cover the Troops in their Passage, and favour their Descent, when they came to land. A thick Smoak from a large Heap of wet Straw, which the King caused to be set on Fire, so blinded the Enemy, that they could not discern the Passage of his Troops.

*The King of Sweden arrives in Livonia.*

The *Saxon* Army was commanded by the Duke of *Courland*, and Marshal *Stenau*. That brave Officer fell upon the *Swedish* Battalions with his Horse, before they were quite drawn up, and drove them into the River; but being soon rallied by the King, they advanc'd with such Fury against

The Saxons  
are beaten.

The King of  
Sweden's  
Conquests in  
Courland.

the Marshal, that they oblig'd him likewise to retreat. The *Saxon* Army retired to an advantageous Ground, where it was attack'd and beaten by the Enemy. After an obstinate and bloody Combat on both Sides, the Conquerors took *Mitau*, the Capital City of *Courland*, and the rest of the Towns in that Duchy open'd their Gates without any Resistance. The King did no more to gain all *Lithuania*; and it was at *Birzen*, in that Duchy, that this implacable Prince laid the Scheme of dethroning *Augustus*.

1701.

The General  
Diet at  
Warsaw.

Character of  
the Polish  
Lords.

*Augustus's* Misfortune rous'd up his secret Enemies. They sought to make an Advantage of his Circumstances, to prejudice him. The King, who stood more in need of an Army than Councils and Deliberations, was notwithstanding forc'd to hold the Diet, which was appointed to meet on the 22d of *December*. In this Assembly, the Spirit of Liberty, which prevails in *Poland*, broke out before the King, in a Language never heard by other Princes. He saw his Subjects openly working against him, under a Pretence of the Public Good, and was oblig'd to bear with the Pride and Haughtiness of that free People, who make choice of a Master, less with a View of being govern'd, than of governing themselves; of increasing their own Authority, borrowing his Name, to execute their own private Quarrels, and making themselves considerable in the State, by taking part with him, or against him. One may say, that, in such a Government, the principal Subjects are Tyrants over their Kings.

The Conduct of *Augustus* had not a little contributed to take off from the Affection of his Friends, and exasperate his Enemies, who were greatly increased in Number. However, some Palatinates still express'd Zeal enough for him, to make him believe that he might arm the *Polish* Nobles

Nobility against the *Swedes*. And thus he founded his Hopes upon the Army of the Republic : But these Hopes were soon blown over, and he grew perfectly sensible, that his Authority in the Diet was of little Consequence, the most Part of the Members making no Scruple to own they were in the Interest of the King of *Sweden*, and that not so much out of Friendship to him, as Hatred to the King, whom they suspected of some Design upon their Liberties. They went so far as to complain against him ; to charge him with the Troubles of *Lithuania*, and accuse him as the Author of all the Ills which had fallen upon the State. Amongst other Debates, they talk'd of sending an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, in the Name of the Republic : But before this Point was carried, the Diet broke up, by the Retreat of a Deputy.

*The Resolution of the Diet.*

1702.

Feb. 7.

In the mean time *Augustus* had pressing need of Succours. He was not ignorant that the Diets, Councils, in fine all the Assemblies of the *Poles*, sought to degrade his Authority, or rather to annul it : But, upon some Occasions, it is Policy in a Prince, to wink at an Incroachment upon his Rights, that he may one Day have it in his Power to restore them. With these Views *Augustus* call'd together a Council of the Senate. The Members of this Assembly were better Courtiers than that vast Tribe of Nobility, which had so openly declared their Animosity against the King, and, under the Pretence of reconciling his Interest with the Security of the Republic, gave a more certain Stab to his Authority. They at last concluded upon the Embassy debated in the Diet, and resolv'd to arm the Nobility, that they might be ready upon occasion.

When *Augustus* was sure of the Senate's Resolution, he straight determin'd to be beforehand with the Embassy of the Republic. He had too much

*The Embassy of the Republic to the King of Sweden refused on.*



The Countess  
of Konings-  
mar visits  
the Swedish  
Camp.

Charles re-  
fuses to see  
her.

Augustus  
has recourse  
to the Senate.

Charles XII.  
his Answer  
to the Em-  
bassy of the  
Republic.

much Cause to fear, that his Interest would be slightly regarded, if not wholly overlook'd, or, it may be, mention'd only to be intirely ruin'd. He had not been able to resist the Wit and Beauty of the Countess of *Koningsmar*, a *Swedish* young Lady, of a great Family. He made choice of her, to be his Mediator with *Charles XII.* and thought that a young Conqueror could deny her nothing. Having received her Instructions from *Augustus*, she went to the *Swedish* Camp in *Lithuania*; but *Charles XII.* refusing obstinately to see her, she returned to *Augustus*, who was however not disheartened by this rigid Inflexibility of his Enemy. He dispatched his Chamberlain *Wiczdumb* with fresh Instructions to the King of *Sweden*; but when he came within View of the Camp, he was seized, as coming from an Enemy; and having no other Passport, this second Attempt proved fruitless.

The King of *Poland* was therefore forc'd to have recourse to the Senate, tho' his Enemy; but he soon experienc'd that he had nothing agreeable to expect from them: For having offer'd to call in 12000 *Saxons*, and to put himself at the Head of the Army of the Republic, upon the Conditions of paying two Quarters beforehand, out of his own private Purse, all the Answer he could get, was, that the Republic would send an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, to procure Peace; and as for the *Saxons*, his Majesty could not introduce them into *Poland*, without intirely disobliging the whole Nation.

The Embassy of the Republic was not more favourably treated by *Charles XII.* who was by no means pleased that they had still any thing to do with *Augustus*. He answer'd, that he would let the Senate know what he thought of their Proposals, when he came to *Warsaw*. And the

same

same Day he set forward on his March towards that City, preceded by a Manifesto, in which he was declared the Friend and Protector of the Republic.

Upon the Approach of the King of *Sweden*, the Friends of *Augustus* deserted him thro' Weakness, his Enemies that they might withdraw from his Reproaches, and raise him up more Adversaries at a Distance; and all through a Jealousy of the Royal Authority, which the *Poles* look upon as a Monster, ever ready to devour their Liberty.

*Augustus*, before he left *Warsaw*, got Leave from the few Senators who were left about him, to introduce six thousand *Saxons*, and dispose of the Troops of the Republic. He likewise gave Orders for the Nobility to take the Field, but to no purpose. The Hatred they bore him, and the Terror of the *Swedish* Arms, kept the *Poles* upon their Estates, where they waited for the Issue of this great Affair. Being thus deserted by his Subjects, he had recourse to other Measures. Twenty thousand *Saxons* enter'd *Poland* by his Order; and he gave himself little Concern about exasperating a Nation which betray'd him; offending Enemies, who sought his Ruin; or raising the Murmurs of some weak and fearful Friends, who gave him no other Proof of their Affection, than that they were not his Enemies.

*Saxon Troops  
brought into  
Poland.*

The King of *Sweden*, on his Side, prepared to give his Enemy a good Reception. He let the Cardinal Primate into his Intentions at *Warsaw*, who was the secret Enemy of *Augustus*, and forced to submit to him, against his Inclination, but still more a Friend to the Liberty of his Country, which he thought in Danger, under the Administration of a Prince, who, contrary to his

Engage-

Engagements, had over-run *Poland* with foreign Troops. This Prelate was come to *Warsaw*, with the Leave of *Augustus* himself, who indeed could not deny it him. He went thither, under a Pretence of disposing the King of *Sweden* to an Accommodation ; but, in Reality, perhaps, to strike the last Blow, and deprive a Prince of the Crown, who had transgressed the Laws of the Nation. Being admitted to an Audience of the King of *Sweden*, he had a Quarter of an Hour's private Conference with his Majesty, who said aloud, That he would give no Peace to *Poland*, till they had made choice of another King. Whether the Cardinal was struck with this Declaration, upon seeing Matters so nigh, or that he had a mind to conceal the Joy, which might arise from a Resolution that secur'd the Liberty of his Country, but he seem'd to be very much troubled at it. However, he gave Notice of it to the Palatinates, by which Means he discover'd, in some measure, his real Sentiments.

*The King of Sweden declares, he will give no Peace to Poland, till Augustus is de-  
abandoned.*

*Augustus* found it was now no longer Time to deliberate, and that his Crown depended upon the Fate of a Battle. The two Armies met near *Cliffow*, between *Warsaw* and *Cracow*. The Victory was obtained by *Charles XII.* who, pursuing his Enemy as far as *Cracow*, entred the City, and the Castle surrendred at Discretion.

*The Battle of Cliffow, Jul. 13.*

*The King of Sweden thought to be killed, throughout Europe.*

An Accident, which happen'd to the King of *Sweden*, had like to have chang'd the Face of Affairs. His Horse broke his Thigh, as he was marching out of *Cracow*, which oblig'd him to keep his Bed six Weeks. It was spread over all *Europe*, that he was trampled to death under his Horse's Feet. This false Report gave Life to the Followers of *Augustus*, confirm'd his doubtful Friends, shock'd his private Adversaries, and threw his open Enemies into Despair.

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But this Rumour was soon dispersed. *Augustus* flying before the Conqueror, got together some Palatines at *Sandomir*, who were zealous in his Service. They there resolv'd upon sending an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, to offer him the Mediation of the Republic, betwixt himself and the King of *Poland*. *Augustus* then came to *Warsaw*, with a Train of Negotiations constantly at his Heels. Another Assembly, called together in that City, confirmed the Embassy resolv'd upon at *Sandomir*. *Mortzin*, the chief Ambassador, wrote to the King of *Sweden*, to know at what time his Majesty would be pleased to give them Audience. The King made Answer, That he was surpriz'd the Republic should offer him their Mediation in an Affair, wherein themselves were become a Party, as the Army of *Poland* had engag'd with him at *Cliffow*, and the *Poles* still daily exercised Hostilities upon the *Swedens*; but if notwithstanding the Republic disown'd these Actions, and were willing to clear themselves of the Suspicions they had rais'd, the first Step would be, to remove the Actors, and punish them in an exemplary manner, as a Proof of the sincere Affection they profess'd to bear towards *Sweden*; and after this Justification he should be ready to talk with them.

*A Council assembled at Warsaw.*

*The Republic offer their Mediation between the two Kings.*

*The Complaints of Charles XII. against the Republic.*

Whilst the King of *Sweden* assumed the Language of a Conqueror, *Augustus*, returning from his hereditary Dominions, whither he had taken a Journey, came to *Thorn*, and presided in the Great Council he had called together in that City. The Assembly accepted of the Emperor's Mediation, in behalf of the Republic, and resolv'd to declare War upon the King of *Sweden*, in case he refus'd the Mediators which they offer'd him.

*A great Council called together at Thorn, by Augustus.*

The



1703. The Cardinal Primate, who had already de-  
*The Assembly* throned *Augustus* in his Mind, willing to oppose  
*at Warsaw,* Councils to Councils, called an Assembly at *War-*  
*Feb. 15.* *saw*; but the small Number of Senators who came  
 thither, and the Presence of the *Swedes*, who had  
 got Possession of the Castle, oblig'd him to put it  
 off to another Time. *Augustus* was then at *Ma-*  
*rienbourg*, with some of his Party, whom he laid  
 under the Obligation of new Oaths.

In the mean time the King of *Sweden* gave Au-  
 dience to the Deputies of the Council, and then  
 conferring with the Cardinal, he let him know  
*The King of* his Intentions, by a Declaration to this Purpose;  
*Sweden's* That the King of *Poland* offer'd Peace, or made  
*Declaration.* War, as he was more or less press'd by the *Swedish*  
 Arms: That the King of *Sweden*, desiring that a  
 free Assembly might be called, of all the Mem-  
 bers of the Republic, to restore Tranquillity in  
*Poland*, King *Augustus*, seconded by his Followers  
 at *Mariembourg*, had treated that Assembly, call'd  
 together at *Warsaw* by the Primate, as an unlaw-  
 ful Meeting, whereas it was his Council at *Ma-*  
*riembourg* which more justly deserv'd the Name of  
 Conventicle: That they had there made such  
 open and repeated Menaces of War and Rupture  
 between the Republic and *Sweden*, that he was  
 satisfied the Assembly was not guided by a Spirit  
 of Peace and Reconciliation, but rather influenc'd  
 by the Author of the Troubles, whose Sentiments  
 and Designs they solely express'd: That this Con-  
 duct had too much open'd the Eyes of the King  
 of *Sweden*, to suffer himself to be any longer  
 amused by the Delays of Negotiations: That how-  
 ever his Majesty did not refuse to make a proper  
 Peace with the Republic, for which he had given  
 signal Proofs of his Affection, by refusing the  
 Advan-

Advantages of private Treaties offer'd to his Majesty, but injurious to the Liberties of *Poland*: That they would do well, not to refuse the Offers of Assistance and Confirmation of the Alliance, made by his Majesty to the Republic, which if they did, they might have Cause to repent of: That lastly, he had pointed out the surest Means of procuring Peace, and was ready to hearken to the Propositions which should be made him on that Subject, in an Assembly wherein the Primate of the Kingdom should preside, whom his Prudence and Love for Justice ought to render agreeable to both Parties.

*Charles XII.* who did not love long Treaties, and grew tir'd of Inactivity, left *Praag*, to fall upon the *Saxons* at *Pultuscb*. As he was upon his March, he receiv'd the Primate's Answer to the foregoing Declaration. The King, who desired a positive Answer, was displeased with the Obscurity of the Primate's Letter. The only Point in it plainly express'd, was a Protestation, never to dethrone *Augustus*.

In the mean time *Charles* passed the Rivers, march'd against the *Saxons*, and drove them before him. His Presence was sufficient to procure a Victory. After this late Success, he advanc'd under the Walls of *Thorn*, which was blockaded by eight thousand *Swedes*. The Place was fortified with a Garison of six thousand *Saxons*; but as large as the Garison was, it was far inferior to the 8000 *Swedes*, who besieg'd it.

*The Saxons  
defeated at  
Pultuscb.*

*Thorn blockaded,  
May 16.*

*Augustus*, yielding on all Sides to the victorious Arms of his Enemy, dragg'd his Misfortunes along from Town to Town, and at last call'd his Friends together, to repair his Losses. He open'd a Diet at *Lublin*, whither the Cardinal had the Assurance to come. The Prelate seem'd to promise fair, paid his Duty to the King, took the

*The Diet at  
Lublin  
open'd, Jun.  
19.*

the Oaths with the rest, never to consent to the dethroning of *Augustus*, and to do all he could for the Preservation of his Crown. By this means he prevented the violent Resolutions, which were then talk'd of, of abolishing his Dignity, and declaring him a Traitor to his Country, and unfaithful to his Prince. The Assembly gave *Augustus* Leave to raise Taxes, for the Support of the War, and to make what Alliances he judg'd proper, with foreign Powers. He repeated the Oaths he had before taken at *Sandomir*, to assure the *Poles*, that he had no Design upon the Liberty of their Country.

*The Post-comital Assembly.*

The Assembly which was held afterwards, and is called *Post-comital*, as it constantly follows the Diets or *Comitia*, empowered the Cardinal and the Commissioners of the Republic to let the King of *Sweden* know, that the Resolutions taken at *Lublin*, did in no wise derogate from the Power already given the Commissioners to conclude a Peace; that, on the other hand, they had augmented those Powers to treat with his *Swedish* Majesty, from whose Equity they had Cause to expect such Conditions as should be agreeable to

*The Cardinal comes to Warsaw, writes to the King of Sweden, and receives an Answer from him.*

Reason. Pursuant to these Resolutions, the Cardinal came to *Warsaw*, and informing the Commissioners of what was done, he wrote to the King of *Sweden* upon this Subject, who made Answer, that he should do nothing to hinder a reasonable Peace.

*The Siege of Thorn, which surrenders at Discretion.*

His Majesty meant nothing by these general Terms, but a Peace that was agreeable to his own Intentions. To bring the *Poles* somewhat nearer to his Designs, he chang'd the Blockade of *Thorn* to a Siege in Form; and the Garison, oblig'd to surrender at Discretion, found more favourable Conditions from the King's Generosity, than they could have hop'd for from a Treaty.

*Augustus*

*Augustus* seeing that his Forces daily came to nothing, sent an Embassy to the Czar of *Muscovy*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance Offensive and Defensive, notwithstanding it was oppos'd by some of the Senators. These Proceedings, against the Inclinations of the *Poles*, still farther alienated their Affections from him, and favour'd the Assembly of the Confederates, which the Primate held at *Warsaw*. The Prelate talk'd of nothing but quieting the Troubles of the Kingdom; and so far as to give the King Notice, that it had been propos'd to dethrone him. But, thinking he had done enough to give a Colour to his Actions, he soon after enter'd into all the Views of the Confederation.

*Augustus sends an Embassy into Muscovy.*

1774.  
*The Confederates meet at Warsaw.*

As soon as the Cardinal had thrown off the Mask, the *Interregnum* was resolv'd on by the Confederates. Some of them, struck with the Consequences of such a Resolution, and likewise affected with the Menaces of the Czar and King *Augustus*, declar'd they came not to the Assembly to dethrone the King, but only to heal the Maladies of the Republic. Their Zeal sunk or rose in Proportion to the Circumstances that interven'd. *Augustus*, then at *Cracow* with his Followers, declar'd the Nobility assembled at *Warsaw*, to be Rebels and Traitors. This News exasperated them still more; and some of the Deputies broke out into furious Invectives against the King: "Which of our Privileges, (said they) however sacred, has not *Augustus* violated? The People are impoverished, the principal Families of the State oppressed, all *Poland* enslaved by *Saxon* Garisons, the Fire of War kindled to consume the little Remains of our expiring Liberty: And are not these substantial Proofs that *Augustus* tramples his Oaths, and our most sacred Laws, under his Feet?"

*An Interregnum agreed on by the Confederates.*

*Augustus declares them Rebels and Traitors to their Country.*



These bold and free Discourses cemented the Resolutions of the Assembly, and encouraged such of the Deputies as had suffered their Resolution to cool. A new Incident reviv'd their first Warmth, and dispell'd all their Doubts about dethroning *Augustus*. They learnt by a Letter from Prince *James Sobieski* and *Prince Constantine* carried off by the Orders of *Augustus*, that his two Brothers *James* and *Constantine* were carried off near *Breslaw* in *Silesia* by the Orders of the King of *Poland*. This Violence let loose the Tongues of the whole Assembly, and they made no manner of Hesitation to resolve upon the *Interregnum*.

The Pope writes to the Cardinal, who sends an Answer to his Holiness.

*Augustus* was no sooner inform'd of what had pass'd in the Assembly at *Warsaw*, than he gave Notice of it to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. He sent Word of it likewise to the Pope, who used his utmost Endeavours to prevent so strange a Revolution. The Pontif wrote to the Primate in pressing Terms, not to give so great a Scandal to *Europe*; but the Blow was already struck. The Cardinal, in his Answer to the Pope, described the Injury offer'd to the two Princes in most lively Colours; he repeated the several Attempts of King *Augustus* upon the Liberty of *Poland*, the *Saxons* introduced into the Heart of the Kingdom, a War enter'd into to drain the Republic, and ruin great Families, the Defeats of *Augustus*, the Ravage of *Poland*, the absolute Contempt of executing the *Pacta Conventa*, a sacred Contract, broke and trampled under Foot by *Augustus*. He added in his Letter, that the Cries and Groans of their oppressed Country had at last enter'd into the Heart of the good *Poles*, who had no other Way left of relieving their common Mother, than by rescuing her from the Hands of the Oppressor. Lastly, he justified his Association with *Sweden*, and concluded with calling in doubt the Sincerity of *Augustus's* Conversion.

This

This Letter, sharp as it was, made no Alteration in the Pope's Resolution; he wrote back to the Cardinal, advising him to Temper, and not to make the Evil worse, by dethroning the King. The Pope's Solicitations had no Effect upon the Cardinal, and the *Interregnum*, already resolv'd upon, was publish'd in the Beginning of May. The Inter-regnum published. The Heat of their Passions had hinder'd several Palatines from seeing the Consequence of such dangerous Proceedings; but when they came to consider of them more coolly, they were shock'd at what they had done, and went off from the rest of the Confederates. They said they came to *Warsaw* with no other View, than to labour for Peace, and not to prolong the Troubles by such violent Methods, as could only end in the absolute Ruin of the Commonwealth. The Separation of some of the Deputies from the rest of the Assembly.

There was no Regard paid to their Separation; on the other hand, they resolved to finish what they had already begun. General *Horne*, the King of *Sweden*'s Minister in this Affair, came to the Assembly with the Palatine of *Poznania*, and the Marshal of the Confederation, who had been to make him a Visit. The Bishop of *Poznania*, and the Palatines of *Poznania* and *Siradia* were appointed the Commissioners of the Republic to treat with this General. General Horne treats with the Commissioners of the Republic.

*Augustus*, enrag'd at the Conduct of the Confederates, broke out into a severe Invektive against them in the General Diet, which he had call'd to meet at *Sendomir*. But neither his Menaces, nor his Complaints, were capable of putting a Stop to the Proceedings of the Confederates, who soon open'd a Diet at *Warsaw* for the Election of a new King. The Candidates nam'd were Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, the Prince of *Conti*, and some others; but the Eyes of all were fix'd upon the former two. Prince *Alexander* was favoured by The Diet of Sendomir call'd by Augustus. The Diet of Election at Warsaw. Candidates propos'd to the Diet.

Prince Alexander Sobieski declines accepting the Crown.

the King of Sweden, whose Protection was of great Weight with most Part of the Electors, who were no other than the Instruments of his Will. The Prince of *Conti* was supported by the Cardinal, who was almost the only One of his Party. *Alexander*, pressed by *Charles XII.* to accept the Crown, protested that he would never ascend a Throne which Fortune had denied his elder Brother. This Moderation of young *Sobieski*, and the few Friends of the Prince of *Conti*, caus'd all Mention of them to be dropt in the Diet. The other Candidates divided the Voices of the Assembly, who, finding they were not likely to agree about them, gave them all up.

Stanislaus Leczinski, Palatine of Posenia, is propos'd. His Character.

He is chosen King of Poland.

A new Candidate, who had almost every Voice on his Side, contributed not a little to make them intirely forgotten. This was *Stanislaus Leczinski*, Palatine of *Posnania*, a young Lord, brave, liberal, and indefatigable, and of a Disposition likely to put an end to all their Divisions. The King of Sweden, who at first warmly declar'd in behalf of Prince *Alexander*, not finding him dispos'd to comply with his Intentions, afterwards left the Liberty of chusing to the Nobility; but when he heard they had own'd the Merit of *Stanislaus*, he desired that he might be proclaimed King without any Regard to the usual Formalities, which took up more Time than was consistent with his Vivacity. *Stanislaus* was then declar'd King of *Poland*, and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*, at Nine in the Evening, by the Bishop of *Posnania*.

Jul. 17. Stanislaus I.

Augustus declares Stanislaus a Rebel.

*Augustus*, having learnt at *Kamin* the Election of the Palatine of *Posnania*, assembled in that City the great Council he had called together at *Sandomir*. *Stanislaus* was there declared a Rebel and Traitor to his Country. The great Zeal of *Augustus's* Party might have kept him in Heart, if his

his Arms had been less unsuccessful; but whilst he was engaging with his Rival by vain Declarations, the *Swedes* were routing the *Saxon* Troops, upon which he still founded some small Degree of Hopes.

Count *Leewenhaupt*, a *Swedish* General, with an Army of 7000 Men, fell upon 12000 *Saxons*, commanded by Prince *Wiesnowiski*, upon the Banks of the *Duna*, cut off 3000 of them, put the rest to Flight, and seized upon their Baggage and Artillery. This Loss was followed by another, which was less considerable indeed as to the Number of the Slain, but of much greater Consequence as to the Quantity of Officers involv'd in it. The *Saxons* thinking to surprize 3000 *Swedish* Dragoons, who were encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of *Posen*, march'd to attack them by Night; but the *Swedes* receiv'd them so briskly, that they drove them back, and intirely defeated them.

The King of *Sweden* allow'd *Augustus* no longer Intermision, than the *Swedish* Generals did the Generals of the *Saxons*. He advanced towards *Solock*, where that Prince lay encamp'd; but *Augustus* deceiving his Enemy by an extraordinary March, appear'd before *Warsaw*, which he forced to open her Gates to him. The Castle, into which General *Horne* retired, was oblig'd to surrender, and the Garison were made Prisoners of War, after having obtain'd some Conditions, which alleviated their Fate. *Charles XII.* not having Time enough to hinder the Entrance of *Augustus*, was unwilling to lose the Benefit of his March, and therefore laid siege to *Leopold*, which he carried the next Day by Assault, though the Garison made a stout Resistance. He found a considerable Booty in the City.

*Prince Wiesnowiski defeated by Leewenhaupt a Swedish General.*

*Charles XII. pursues Augustus, who decamps and marches to Warsaw, where he is receiv'd.*

*Leopold besieged and carried by Assault by the King of Sweden.*



After this last Success, the *Swedish Army*, which was join'd before *Leopold* by King *Stanislaus* and his Followers, decamped to fall upon the Troops of *Augustus*, which lay within a few Leagues of *Warsaw* upon the *Vistula*. *Augustus*, fearing his ill Fortune, divided his Army, which consisted of 45000 Men, into three Bodies, that the King of *Sweden* might not crush him to pieces with a single Blow.

*The Party of Stanislaus increases.*

Whilst he was endeavouring to save his Forces, his Rival's Party was increasing daily. The Palatine of *Kiow*, who had form'd a Party under the Name of the *Indifferents*, soon went over to *Stanislaus*. The Cardinal himself, who had not as yet absolutely declar'd himself, embrac'd his Cause; and to give him a Proof of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he call'd a General Diet to meet at *Warsaw*, to confirm his Election, and fix the Day of his Coronation. The Assembly joined with the Primate, and *Stanislaus* was crown'd in the Church of *St. John*, having sworn to the Observation of the *Pacta Conventa* the Day before. *Charles XII.* was present at the Ceremony *incognito*, and had the Pleasure of seeing a King confirm'd, who ow'd his Crown to him.

*The Cardinal declares in his favour.*

*A General Diet at Warsaw, July 11.*

1705.  
*Stanislaus crown'd by the Archbishop of Leopold.*

The Cardinal did not long serve the new King. He died at *Dantzick* on the 13th of *October*. This Gentleman, whose Character has been so differently drawn by different Parties, was the Son of *Jerome Radzieiowski*, Starost of *Lomza*, and afterwards Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom. The young *Radzieiowski* was left an Orphan at nine Years old, and Queen *Louisa*, affected with his Misfortune, gave him an Education suitable to his Birth. When he was grown up, he followed the Fortunes of *Sobieski*, who in 1679 nominated him to the Bishoprick of *Warmerlandt*, and made him

*The Cardinal Primate dies. His Story.*

him Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom. Pope *Innocent XI.* honour'd him with the *Roman Purple* in 1683; and the King soon after gave him the Primacy of *Poland*.

He is represented on one Side as a crafty Villain, His Character. and on the other as a Man of Ability and Penetration; but in Reality was only timorous and wavering. One may venture to aver, that his Conduct at *Lublin* was wholly owing to this Disposition, whither he went to swear that he would preserve the Crown to *Augustus*, and immediately return'd to *Warsaw* to abjure the Oath he had taken; in the first place, struck with an Apprehension of seeing a Blow given to his Dignity, and then returning to his Fears, and fancying that *Augustus* had still some evil Design against the Liberty of his Country. Besides, he was like all the *Poles*, an Enemy to a King whom he did not make, and unfaithful to the Head of a Republic, which was ever jealous of the Conduct of its Sovereign.

The Treaty, already begun between King *Stanislaus* and the King of *Sweden*, was at last sign'd A Treaty between the King of Sweden and King Stanislaus. and ratified by the two Monarchs. The principal Aim of this Treaty was to support *Stanislaus* upon the Throne, and the two Estates in a firm and durable Alliance. But *Charles XII.* served *Stanislaus* better by Deeds than Promises. His valiant *Swedes*, diffused throughout all *Poland*, clear'd it of its Enemies. A hundred thousand *Muscovites*, 1706. The Muscovites beaten. which made up several Bodies of Troops, were this Year either slain or routed in the Kingdom. But the most fatal Blow to *Augustus's* Party was the Defeat of his Troops at *Frauwensstadt*. The Saxons routed at Frauwensstadt. *Reinsebildt*, at the Head of 10000 of his brave Soldiers, fell upon the Enemies Army, which amounted to 20000 Men. The two Wings of the Enemy gave way to the Impetuosity of the *Swedes* upon the

first Onset, and what followed was rather a Slaughter than an Engagement. The Conquerors broke the Foot with their usual Fury notwithstanding all their Efforts, and the Field of Battle was soon cover'd with the Slain. Seven thousand of the Enemy were left upon the Place, and Eight thousand taken Prisoners; and yet so compleat a Victory did not cost the *Swedes* above Three hundred and sixty of their Men, amongst whom were some Officers of Distinction. This brave Action did not last above three Hours. Besides the Advantage of Numbers, the *Saxons* were commanded that Day by the famous General *Schullembourg*, who but a little while before had gain'd the Commendations of *Charles* and *Stanislaus* for an excellent Retreat.

*Augustus  
assembles a  
great Council  
at Warsaw.*

*The Muscovites  
distressed at Grodno.*

As soon as this bad News had reach'd the Ear of *Augustus*, he had recourse to his usual Remedies. A great Council was call'd at *Warsaw*, where his Majesty then was. He soon after march'd thence to *Cracow*, which he strengthen'd with new Fortifications, designing to make it the Repository of his Artillery. It was from this City he observ'd the Motions of the *Swedes*, and saw the *Lithuanians*, to his great Vexation, pass over to the Standards of his Rival. But nothing affected him more than the Destruction of the *Muscovites*, his Allies, who perished most of them by Hunger or Cold. They were reduc'd to so great Distress, that they were forced to quit *Grodno*, to the Number of 15000 Foot, and near 5000 Horse, which the King of *Sweden* harass'd so briskly in their Retreat, that very few of them were left.

But *Augustus* had still some Hopes left of repairing his Misfortunes by Assistance from *Saxony*. And *Charles XII.* understood, that he must take from him all his Hopes from thence, before he could reduce him to quit the Field to *Stanislaus*.  
He

He had no sooner formed this Resolution, but he entered *Saxony*, This singular Conqueror would not suffer the Arrival of an Enemy's Army to be attended with any Disturbance to the State. The severe Discipline of his Soldiers guarded the Country from all Insult; but the *Saxons* could hardly be brought to believe it, who fled from Town to Town upon the Approach of the *Swedes*.

*The King of Sweden marches into Saxony.*

To remove all their Fears, *Charles* published a Declaration, which was a kind of general Safe-guard, forbidding all Persons whatsoever to leave their Goods, or convey them away, under severe Penalties; and then marching farther into the Electorate, he gave Orders for the Security of the Tradesmen at the Mart of *Leipsick*, which was kept as usual. In the mean time he did not lose View of his Design, to withdraw from *Augustus* all the Succour he could hope for from *Saxony*, which he did by imposing immense Contributions upon the Towns.

*Augustus* seeing at last his Affairs in the Condition he had long been afraid of, grew sensible of his Weakness in *Poland*, and the Necessity of removing *Charles XII.* from his hereditary Dominions. He found he must yield to the present Conjunction, and submit to the Conqueror. He determin'd therefore to offer some Proposals to

his Enemy, and dispatch'd Baron *d'Imhof* and *Finsten* to the King of *Sweden*. These two Ministers came to the *Swedish* Camp, but privately, for fear the *Muscovites* should know, that he was minded to treat with *Charles XII.* He gave them full Powers, and a Blank sign'd. *Charles XII.* receiving the Letter they brought him from *Augustus*, opened it and read it. He bid them wait

*Augustus sues for Peace of the King of Sweden in Saxony.*

one Moment, and he would give them an Answer; and going into his Closet, where he tarried not long, he returned with a Paper he had wrote,

*The King of Sweden's Answer.*

which



which he gave Baron *d' Imbof* to read. The Contents of it were as follows:

“ I consent to give Peace upon the following  
 “ Conditions, in which it must not be ex-  
 “ pected that I shall make the least Altera-  
 “ tion.

“ I. That King *Augustus* renounce for ever the  
 “ Crown of *Poland*; that he acknowledge *Stani-*  
 “ *slaus* as lawful King, and that he promise never  
 “ to remount the Throne, not even after the Death  
 “ of *Stanislaus*.

“ II. That he renounce all other Treaties, and  
 “ particularly those he has made with *Muscovy*.

“ III. That he send back with Honour the  
 “ Princess *Sobieski* into my Camp, and all the  
 “ Prisoners he has ever taken.

“ IV. That he deliver into my Hands all the  
 “ Deserters which have enter'd into his Service,  
 “ and particularly *John Patkul*, and that all Pro-  
 “ ceedings be stopt against such as have pass'd  
 “ from his Service into mine.”

The Plenipotentiaries of *Augustus* could never obtain from *Charles* the least Abatement of the Rigour of these Conditions, and so were forced to comply with his imperious Inflexibility.

*Charles* exercised then in *Saxony* an absolute Power; he desired to know the Strength of the Electorate, and the State of the Finances, and immediately they obeyed his Orders. The Registers were laid before him, and by that Means he knew how much he could demand of the Estates, from which he straight exacted 625000  
 Crowns

Crowns a Month, which he afterwards reduc'd to 500000. Charles raises great Contributions in the Electorate.

Whilst he was thus draining Saxony, Prince *Menzikoff* the Czar's Generalissimo, at the Head of 30000 Men, joined *Augustus* with his little Army of about 6000 *Poles* and *Saxons*. The Arrival of the *Muscovites* threw his Majesty into a strange Confusion. He was under the most terrible Apprehensions from them. in case his Negotiation with *Sweden* came to be discover'd; but what threw him into a much greater Perplexity, was the Presence of 10000 *Swedes*, commanded by General *Meyerfeldt*. He would have been glad to decline an Engagement, for fear he should irritate a Conqueror, who was already too much incensed. He is said to have given Notice to the *Swedish* General, that there was a Negotiation on foot between him and *Charles XII.* but this Circumstance only added to the Ardour of the *Swedes*. Compell'd at last to yield to the Instances of Prince *Menzikoff*, and provok'd by the Confidence of *Meyerfeldt*, he consented to a Battle, which, whether lost or won, could not but prove alike fatal to him. It seem'd as if Fortune, till then obstinately bent to pursue him, declared at last in his Favour, only to advance his Ruin by a Kindness shew'd too late. The *Swedes* were conquered; but the Victory of *Augustus* serv'd only to make the Yoke more heavy, which *Charles XII.* laid upon him. The Battle of Calish gain'd by Augustus against the Swedes.

*Augustus* was entering *Warsaw* in Triumph, when *Finster*, one of his Plenipotentiaries, presented him with the Treaty of Peace, which depriv'd him of the Crown. In the first Emotions of his Heart, upon Sight of the fatal Instrument of his Shame, he doubted whether he should not march at the Head of his victorious Troops to fall upon the King Augustus signs his Abdication.

King of Sweden in Saxony; but fearing to be overwhelm'd in an Abyſs, which was already funk too deep, he at laſt complied to ſign his Abdication, and went into Saxony, hoping to diſarm his inflexible Enemy by his Preſence.

The Inter-  
view of  
Charles XII.  
with Au-  
guſtus.

The two Kings met at *Guntersdorf* in Count *Pimper's* Quarters. They were ſeveral times together, and *Charles* ſhew'd great Reſpect to *Auguſtus*; but theſe vain Appearances brought but little Conſolation for the Severity of *Charles*, who made him pay dear for the Victory at *Califf*, which he gain'd over General *Meyerfeldt*. This Severity went ſo far as to oblige him to write a Letter of Congratulation to *Stanislaus* upon his Advancement to the Crown. *Auguſtus* ſwallow'd this uneaſy Circumſtance with the Policy of a Man that was accuſtomed to ſad Revolutions; but he knew not how to digeſt the Affront of being compell'd to give up *Patkul* to the Vengeance of the King of Sweden.

Auguſtus  
congratulates  
Stanislaus  
upon his Ad-  
vancement to  
the Throne.

The Fate of  
Patkul.

*John Renold Patkul*, a Gentleman of *Livonia*, had done great Services for *Auguſtus*. He was the Czar's Ambaſſador, and was demanded back in very high Terms. On the other hand, *Charles XII.* would grant no Peace to *Auguſtus* on any other Condition, than the giving up of *Patkul* into his Hands. Theſe Circumſtances, and the Dread of being reproach'd with Ingratitude, lay heavy upon *Auguſtus*. At laſt he thought to ſave his Reputation, and ſatisfy the King of Sweden, by contriving the Priſoner's Escape, before the *Swedes* could ſeize upon his Perſon; but *Patkul's* ill Fortune diſappointed the King's Diſcretion. The Governor of the Caſtle, where he lay imprifoned, demanded a large Sum of Money of him to ſet him at Liberty, which *Patkul* refuſed to give him. Whiſt they were diſputing, the *Swedes* came up, and the Viſtim was forced to be delivered into their Hands.

The

The unfortunate *Patkul* was condemned to be broke alive upon the Wheel, and bore that Punishment with Constancy, which in its very Apparatus is capable of staggering the stoutest Resolution. His Crimes were, his opposing the Will of *Charles XI.* Father to *Charles XII.* in maintaining the Liberties of *Livonia* his Country, and successively passing into the Service of *Augustus* and the Czar, the sworn Enemies of *Sweden*. His Character of Ambassador ought to have guarded him against such barbarous Treatment; but *Charles*, who considered him only as a Rebel Subject, put him to a cruel Death, which was in his Eyes no more than an Act of Justice.

The Czar was highly provok'd at the Treaty concluded at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and sent his Complaints into all *Europe* of the Treatment offered to his Minister. He omitted nothing that might contribute to glut his Revenge. He gained over to his Interest the Principal of the *Poles*, who met at *Leopold* in great Numbers, and ingaged them to a Resolution of electing a new King, and writing to all foreign Powers, not to acknowledge any other King of *Poland*, than the Person whom they should advance to the Throne.

*The Czar's Complaints upon the Death of Patkul.*

In the mean time *Stanislaus* got himself to be acknowledged by most of the Princes in *Europe*, some of whom gave him that Satisfaction, only that they might have it in their Power more certainly to do him a Mischief.

There was held in *May* another Assembly at *Lublin*, in which the Throne was declared vacant. The Diet was call'd for a third Election, when *Stanislaus*, leaving the King of *Sweden* in *Saxony*, came into *Poland* with General *Reinschildt* at the Head of sixteen *Swedish* Regiments. *Charles* followed them soon after with the rest of the Army. Upon his Approach, the Czar retired speedily into

*The Assembly of Lublin declares the Throne vacant.*

*Charles XII. leaves Saxony to pursue the Czar.*



into his Dominions ; but neither the Ice, nor the Difficulty of the Way, could put a Stop to his Enemy, who march'd hard to come at him.

1708. After several Engagements, in which the *Swedes* were always Conquerors, the Army, which began to want Necessaries, seized upon *Mobilow*, a Frontier Place of *Poland*, that was well supplied with Provisions. This Succour came very seasonably, before the Arrival of the Convoy, which General *Leewenhaupt* was to bring up, with a Supply of 12000 Men. The King of *Sweden* for some Time still pursuing the *Muscovites*, march'd his Troops towards *Ukrania*, where he hop'd to subsist them easily by means of *Mazeppa*, the Prince of the *Cossacks*, who inhabit that Country. He had enter'd into a private Treaty with this General, who sought to revenge himself of the Czar for the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from him. The Czar communicating to him his Design of bringing the *Cossacks* into greater Subjection, a sort of vagabond People like the *Tartars*, *Mazeppa* told him it would be impossible to execute his Project ; which threw the Czar into such Violence of Passion, that he threaten'd to have him impal'd alive. This General had engag'd to join the King of *Sweden* with 30000 Men, who waited for him with Impatience, but in vain. The *Cossack's* Designs were discovered by the *Muscovites*, who prevented the Execution of them, cut his Troops in pieces, and oblig'd him to fly for Shelter to the King of *Sweden* with 6000 Men, the feeble Remains of his Army. His Towns were taken, his Provisions plunder'd, the Enemy in the Heart of his Dominions, destroying with Fire and Sword, and himself without any other Remedy than the Affection of the *Cossacks*.

Charles XII.  
seizes upon  
Mohilow.

The Swedish  
Army enters  
Ukrania.

The Condition  
of Ukrania  
upon the Ar-  
rival of the  
Swedes.

In

In the mean while *Leerwenhaupt* was bringing up the Ammunitions and Supplies, which the King of *Sweden* expected. The Czar, inform'd of his March, resolv'd to prevent his joining with the King of *Sweden*. In short, it was a decisive Blow; and if this Convoy could be carried off, the *Swedes* must be reduc'd to strange Extremities; and therefore he made no Hesitation to march against *Leerwenhaupt*, whom he encounter'd near *Lesno*. He had with him 50000 Men, and the General of the Enemy but 16000. But notwithstanding the Inequality of Numbers, the brave *Swedes* stood five obstinate Engagements in three Days; but at last he was overpowered, and oblig'd to retreat with the Loss of 10000 of his Men. He set fire The Convoy of the Swedes carried off by the Czar. to the Waggons loaden with Provisions, to prevent their falling into the Enemies Hands; but the *Muscovites* came up Time enough to extinguish the Fire, and sav'd the best Part of the Ammunitions.

*Leerwenhaupt* arriv'd at the King's Camp crown'd with Glory, but without the Succours, which were now become absolutely necessary. The 5000 Men he had sav'd from Slaughter, far from being a Recruit, seem'd to be come only to increase their Distress.

So many Misfortunes would have cast down the Courage of any other Man than *Charles XII*. Train'd up as he was in a Course of Prosperity, one might have thought his Losses would have hung the heavier on him, when he fell into Adversity; but losing nothing of his natural Resolution, he taught his Soldiers to bear the severest Hunger and most durable Fatigues with Resignation. At the Distance he was from all Places, whence he might have expected Relief, he had no Hopes but in *Stanislaus*; but this Prince had already too much Business upon his Hands from

General

General *Siniawski*, and besides would have run too great a Hazard by marching into *Ukrania*, where the *Muscovites* could easily have stopt his Passage.

*The Distress  
of the King  
of Sweden's  
Army.*

Every thing conspired to ruin the King of *Sweden's* Army. The Winter was so severe, that 2000 of his Soldiers perished by Cold. Those Troops, which were formerly so well maintain'd, had not then wherewithal to guard them from the least Injuries of the Weather. The most Part of them were without Boots, without Shoes, without Cloaths, and often they all wanted Bread. This Army, farther weaken'd by continual Skirmishes,

*The Siege of  
Pultowa.*

was at the Point of perishing intirely, when *Charles XII.* reckoning all Obstacles as nothing, went to lay siege to *Pultowa*, a Town situate on the Eastern Borders of *Ukrania*. He flattered himself here to put an End to the Miseries of his Army by the Conquest of this Place, where the Czar had laid up abundance of Provisions. But neither the Valour of the *Swedes*, nor the Intelligence which *Mazeppa* had in the Place, were able to give Success to the King of *Sweden's* Design. He could not even prevent the Enemy from throwing Succours into the Town, and the Siege began to be drawn out into Length. *Charles*, whose Courage increased by Difficulties, warmly press'd the Besieged. The Curtain was already taken, when he received a Wound in his Heel. This Accident was followed by a Piece of News, which would have staggered any other Man of less Courage than himself.

*Charles XII.  
wounded.*

*The Czar's  
Army ar-  
rives within  
sight of Pul-  
towa.*

He learnt that the Czar was come up with an Army twice as large as his own, which consisted but of 18000 *Swedes*, and a like Number of *Cossacks*, half dead with Cold and Want. The *Muscovite* Army, besides the Advantage of Numbers, wanted nothing, and consisted of fresh Troops, and well experienced by several Engagements.

Under

Under these Extremities, *Charles* made a last Effort to save his Army. His Wound put him out of a Condition to act with his wonted Vigour. Inclos'd however between the *Borysthenes* and the River of *Pultowa*, and farther hemm'd in by a numerous Army, he was under a Necessity of making his Way through the Enemy, or of perishing with Hunger. He did not hesitate one Moment. He sent for the Velt-Marshal *Rein-schildt* into his Tent by Night, and gave him Orders to prepare to march against the *Muscovites* next Morning, which he receiv'd with a Surprise mix'd with Admiration. He withdrew to execute his Master's Commands, who slept soundly till Break of Day.

*The Resolution of Charles XII.*

*Charles gives Orders for the Battle.*

The two Monarchs, whose Fortune was to be decided by the Event of that great Day, had the Eyes of all *Europe* fix'd upon them. They were both animated with an eager Desire of conquering an irreconcilable Enemy. Thirty Victories did not allow *Charles* to doubt of Success; which *Alexiowitz* flattered himself with likewise from his thirty Defeats, which had taught him how to conquer; both of them fond of Glory, *Charles* for its own Sake, and *Alexiowitz* for the Happiness and Interest of his Empire. The *Swede* had made Kings, and the *Muscovite* had made Dominions and Subjects. *Charles* risqued his whole Reputation; and *Alexiowitz*, to the Title of Founder of a People and an Empire, sought to give the Addition of the Conqueror of the greatest General of his Age.

This Action began by Break of Day between the two Armies. The *Swedes*, to the Number of 25000, came out of their Trenches, and march'd directly against the Enemy, who were beginning to form their Camp. The *Swedish* Horse fell upon the Enemies Squadrons with their usual Fury;

*They engage by Break of Day.*



*The Advan-  
tages of the  
Swedes.*

*The Czar  
rallies his  
Troops, and  
triumphs in  
his Turn.*

*The Cause of  
the first Loss  
of the Swedes.*

*A general  
Engagement  
at nine in the  
Morning.*

*Charles XII.  
overturn'd in  
his Litter.*

*The Defeat  
and Massa-  
cre of the  
Swedes.*

*The Retreat  
of Charles  
into Turkey.*

and the *Muscovites* fell back in Disorder. Success already declar'd for their Enemies, and *Charles* made no doubt of winning the Day, when the Czar stopt the Fugitives, rallied his Horse, made head against the Conquerors, broke them, and drove them before him with all the Fury that the Shame of having turn'd their Backs and Vengeance could inspire. *Charles* expected with Impatience that General *Creuts*, whom he had detach'd with 5000 Horse, should fall upon the Enemy in Flank; but *Creuts* was march'd off. This Circumstance secured the *Muscovites*, and was the Ruin of the *Swedes*.

All however was not yet desperate. The King of *Sweden* disposed the Troops he had left, in two Lines. The Foot were posted in the Center, and supported on each Side by the Horse, which made up the two Wings. The Czar disposed his Army in the same Order, and advanced his Foot against the Foot of the Enemy. In the mean time seventy two Cannons play'd upon the *Swedes*, whose whole Artillery was only four bad Pieces of Mortar ill served.

*Alexiowitz*, mounted upon a *Turkish* Horse, flew from Rank to Rank, whilst *Charles* was forced to be carried in a Litter, because of his Wound. In the Beginning of this Action, the King's Litter was shatter'd to pieces by a Cannon-ball, and his Majesty overturn'd. The *Swedish* Army, upon seeing the King fall, immediately gave way; all were put to the Sword, or taken Prisoners, and the King himself was oblig'd to fly. He retired to the *Turks*, whom he attempted in vain to arm against the Conqueror.

*Europe* heard with Astonishment, the Defeat of *Charles*, and the Elector King soon shew'd, that Treaties are but temporary Laws. He was no sooner sure of the Victory gain'd by the *Musco-*  
*vites*,

vites, than he cast the Ministers into Prison, who had sign'd the Peace of *Alt-Ranstadt*. He published a Manifesto to retract the Engagements, which he said they went beyond their Powers in making, and declar'd his Resolution to recover the Throne, from whence he had been driven by Violence. He set the best Face he could upon his own Conduct, and severely censured the Proceedings of *Stanislaus's* Party, upon whom, and his Adherents, he liberally bestow'd the odious Names of Traitors to their King and Country.

*Augustus attempts to recover the Crown of Poland.*

This Manifesto was in some measure serviceable to *Augustus*, and might be of Use to mislead the People, but in Reality produc'd nothing in his Favour. The *Poles* were at Liberty to elect a King in his stead, as he had submitted to the Law, which declares the Crown forfeited upon the Violation of the *Pacta Conventa*. And how could *Augustus* clear himself of the manifest Breach of his Oath? He had kept the *Saxons* in *Poland* against his Engagements, and had not consulted the Republic in the case of a War, which most nearly concern'd them. Accustomed to absolute Power in *Saxony*, he gave himself no Trouble about following a different Plan in *Poland*. This arbitrary Disposition exasperated his Subjects, who perhaps would not have been pleased at a good Agreement between the King and the Republic; as this Circumstance might have disappointed them of the Satisfaction of revenging themselves upon *Augustus*, for obliging them to own his Authority, in Opposition to the other Candidates, whose Interest they had embraced.

*The Title of Stanislaus confirm'd.*

*Stanislaus* therefore was the lawful King. Besides, *Augustus* had renounced his Right, if he had any then remaining, when he sign'd the Treaty of Abdication; but Kings are not always govern'd by strict Equity. *Augustus* then enter'd *Poland* in

*Augustus returns into Poland.*

Triumph, rather than as a King stript of his Dominions, and trying to recover them. A large Body of the Nobility and Great Men joined him in his March. The principal Persons, whom the King of *Sweden*'s Fortune gained over to *Stanislaus*, soon deserted him, to follow the Conqueror's Ally.

*Stanislaus returns into Pomerania. Measures taken in Saxony to prevent an Irruption of the Swedes.*

*Stanislaus* had no Hope left but in General *Craffaw*, who was the only Obstacle *Augustus* had to encounter; and therefore he took all necessary Measures to prevent the General from doing him any Mischief in *Poland*. His Caution went even farther: He wrote to the Council of *Saxony* to arm the Militia at all Events, and seize upon the Passages, for fear the *Swedes* should a second time march into *Saxony*. The Council diligently obey'd the Orders of *Augustus*. He ordered all the Country People, that could carry a Gun, to be ready to march, and gave Arms to about 80000 Peasants.

General *Craffaw* was too weak to keep the Field against *Augustus*, whose Troops were superior in Number, and not inferior in Courage, to the *Swedes*, since their King's Misfortunes. And thus the only Part the General had to take, was to retire out of *Poland*, that he might not expose his Soldiers to certain Ruin. He therefore resolved to pass into *Swedish Pomerania*, whither *Stanislaus* was oblig'd to follow him, having no Dependence in *Poland*; and besides, he found it necessary to preserve to the King of *Sweden*, for Occasions of Moment, the few Troops that were left him.

*An Interview of Augustus with the Czar.*

After the Victory of *Pultowa*, the Czar came into *Poland*, where he had an Interview with *Augustus* in the Neighbourhood of *Thorn*. The two Monarchs agreed together, in what Manner to be revenged of *Sweden*, and prevent, for the future, the

the Mischiefs which had occasioned the Ruin of the one, and brought the other within the Brink of a Precipice.

In the mean time, the Senators were assembled at *Thorn*, to acknowledge *Augustus* to be the lawful King of *Poland*; and to make this Step the more solemn and authentic, they publish'd a Declaration upon this Subject. The Pope, who is ever careful to establish his Authority, sent a Bull to *Augustus*, to discharge him from the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*. And thus it was that he ascended the Throne.

*Augustus* earnestly desired to have the Treaty he had concluded with the Czar, approved by the Republic. He therefore propos'd this Affair to the Great Council, then assembled at *Warsaw*. The Senators were all at the King's Devotion, but the Nobility were not so easily gained, and every Day brought fresh Impediments. At last, after great Disputes, the Treaty was ratified to the King's Pleasure. His Majesty, to gain the Love of his Subjects, made an Act of Indemnity, and took great Care to see it fully and exactly executed. Besides this, he did an Act of Justice, to let the Nobility see what a real Value he had for them. A Colonel, who had assaulted a Deputy of *Czera*, with his Sabre, was severely punish'd by his Orders. His Affability engag'd their Affections, and the Nobility, at last, was again prevailed on, by this Conduct, to acknowledge him as lawful King of *Poland*, in the General Diet, which was held at *Warsaw*.

The weak Remains of *Stanislaus's* Party in *Poland*, still caused there some Commotions. The Palatine of *Kiow*, one of the King of *Sweden's* Followers, over-ran *Poland* with six thousand Men, made himself Master of *Sniatin*, and kept the Garrison Prisoners of War. Till then *Stanislaus* could



- still rely upon some of the *Polish* Lords. The Hopes of the Party were not quite extinct; they were even somewhat revived, by the Victory of  
 1712. the *Swedes* over the *Saxons*. The *Muscovites* and *Danes*, routed together at *Gadebusch*, and the burning the Town of *Altena* to Ashes, by General *Steinbock*, inspired still some Terror of the *Swedish* Army; but an unforeseen Event chang'd  
 1713. the Face of Affairs, and lost King *Stanislaus* the few Followers he had left in *Poland*.

*Charles XII*, who, as we have already observ'd, repair'd to the *Turks* at *Bender*, had laid a Scheme for turning the *Ottoman* Arms upon his Rival, and not leaving *Turkey* but at the Head of an hundred thousand Men. He long hoped to succeed in this Project; but at last, seeing all his Intrigues fail, and the *Czar* to have the Ascendant over him in the *Divan*, he took up a Resolution to tarry among the *Turks*, whether they lik'd it, or no. He would never yield to the Instances of the Lords, who had attended him in his Flight, and positively maintained, that the Order to send him away, which the *Basha* of *Bender* said he had, must be a Forgery. It was to no Purpose to tell him, the Order was to seize upon his Person, in case of Resistance; he was still resolute. With three hundred Men in his House, which he had baricaded and intrench'd, he calmly waited the coming up of an Army of five and twenty thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who easily broke through those feeble Intrenchments, and took the three hundred *Swedes* Prisoners. The King himself, after some Resistance, was taken by the *Janisaries*. The News of this strange Action was soon spread throughout all *Europe*, and particularly *Poland*. The King of *Sweden* was judged to be lost, past all Remedy, and several

The Engage-  
ment at  
*Bender*.

of

of the *Poles* speedily returned to their Obedience to *Augustus*.

*Stanislaus*, finding he was deserted by the *Poles*, thought of quitting a Throne he knew not how to keep. He imagin'd that *Fleming*, the Minister of King *Augustus*, would procure him advantageous Conditions, in Gratitude for the signal Services he had done him. He had prevailed upon the King of *Sweden*, to lay aside the Prosecution of that General, whom in all Probability he would have treated like *Patkul*, as he look'd upon him to be a rebellious Subject, who serv'd against his Country. He had therefore an Interview with this Minister, who made use of the Confidence of his Benefactor, to abuse him the more effectually.

The King of *Sweden* was at *Bender*, when *Stanislaus* wrote to desire he would consent to his Abdication, and allow him to sacrifice himself for the public Peace, and had not yet shewn *Turky* the strange Spectacle we have been describing. After he had read the Letter of *Stanislaus*, he refused absolutely his Consent to a Step, which, he thought, would affect his Glory. In the mean time, *Stanislaus* finding it necessary to comply with the Time, took a Resolution to go to the King of *Sweden* himself, thinking he might gain his Approbation. He was enter'd upon the *Turkish* Territories, and not knowing the Catastrophe of *Bender*, he pass'd for a *Swede*, that was going to the King. Upon saying that he was a *Swede*, he was seized and carried under a Guard to *Bender*, whither the King of *Sweden* was led Prisoner himself in a Chariot. *Charles*, upon Information that *Stanislaus* was not far off, "Run, and tell him, says he, to make no Treaty with *Augustus*, for we shall soon have a Change of Affairs."

*Stanislaus*  
taken Prisoner in Turkey.

*Charles*, at last convinc'd he should never be able to turn the Arms of the *Turks* against *Muscovy*, repaired into his Dominions, where he assigned a Retreat to *Stanislaus*, in the Duchy of *Deux Ponts*, and allowed him the Revenues of that Province, which amounted to seventy thousand Crowns. He could never consent to see that Prince strip'd of his Title, though by no means answerable to the advantageous Conditions he might have obtain'd from *Augustus*.

*Charles* flatter'd himself, that he should still restore the Terror of his Name. The fine Provinces, conquer'd by his Ancestors, and then ravag'd or possess'd by his Enemies, could not bring down his Courage one single instant. And though threaten'd that he should soon see the *Danes*, the *Muscovites*, the *Saxons*, the *Prussians*, and the *English*, in the Heart of his Dominions, like another *Hannibal* he sought to carry the War into the Bosom of his Enemies.

1716. The Storm grew black over *Norway*. *Charles*, at the Head of twenty thousand Men, march'd into this Kingdom, without any Obstacle. All *Europe* was surpriz'd at the Inactivity of the *Czar*, who had agreed with his Allies to make a Descent into *Sweden*; but some secret Motives had diverted his Views another way. He, who had been the King of *Poland's* Ally, was now become his cruel Enemy, and the Hand which had given the Crown to *Augustus*, was now going to wrest it from him, in favour of *Stanislaus*. It may not be amiss to lay open the Cause of this surprizing Resolution.

The Character of Baron Gortz. Baron *Gortz* was then the Confident of the King of *Sweden*, who had before been Minister to the Duke of *Holstein*. This Man, who was by Nature bold, enterprizing, and insinuating, and

and had long been a Projector of great Designs, was, in a manner, born to be the Minister of such a King as *Charles* the Twelfth, seeing this Prince, in the present Circumstances, ready to be oppress'd by a Number of Enemies, whom his Glory and Misfortunes had rais'd, he ventur'd to lay a Scheme for changing the Face of *Europe*.

This able Minister got early Notice of the secret Discontent of the Czar, who was passionately bent upon getting some footing in *Germany*. *Gortz* propos'd to the Czar, to enter into a League with *Sweden*; to restore *Stanislaus* to the Throne; to take the Crown of *England* from the Elector of *Hanover*, and give it to the Heir of the *Stuarts*, and to reinstate the Duke of *Holstein* in his Dominions. He made the Glory and Interest of the Czar concerned in these Revolutions, and offer'd, in the Name of his Master, to give up to *Muscovy* the *Swedish* Provinces he had conquer'd, and to prevail upon the Duke of *Holstein*, to sell him his Dominions.

*Baron Gortz's Project.*

The Czar relish'd these Propositions of *Charles* the Twelfth's Minister, and prepar'd to set all *Europe* in a Flame, whilst *Gortz* talk'd of nothing but Peace in *Holland*, where he then was. He thought his Designs had been cover'd with an impenetrable Secrecy; but the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, had got an Insight into his Intrigues, by means of his Spies, which he had in all the Courts of *Europe*. The King of *England*, inform'd of what was contriving against him, took up Count *Gyllembourg*, the King of *Sweden*'s Ambassador at his Court, and the States General likewise seiz'd upon *Gortz* at the *Hague*.

*Gortz taken up at the Hague.*

*Gortz's* Prison, who was soon set at Liberty, as well as *Gyllembourg*, did only incense him to pursue his Project. By his Advice, the Czar, who took a Journey into *France* for his own Instruction



struction, propos'd to the Duke of *Orleans* to be the Mediator of Peace between *Sweden* and *Muscovy*, and to make an Alliance offensive and defensive with those two Crowns and *Spain*.

The Regent of *France* could be by no means brought to engage in such a Scheme. He hated Cardinal *Alberoni*, who was then the first Minister in *Spain*, and join'd with the King of *England* and the Emperor, to oppose his Ambition.

In this Interval, *Gortz* settled the Affairs of the Treasury in *Sweden*, which he had found in the lowest Condition; and having taken the best Care of them, which Circumstances would then admit of, he speedily set about executing the Plan which he had projected.

Whilst this Minister of *Charles XII.* was, as one may say, disposing of the Estates of *Europe* with the Minister of the Czar, his Master's Arms made *Norway* tremble. He had laid Siege to *Friderickshall*, a strong Town, situate on the Mouth of the River *Tistendall*. The Conquest of this Place open'd him the rest of the Kingdom, and thus he press'd the Siege with all the Vigour he was capable of. The Engineers had assur'd him, the Place could not hold out ten Days, when this Prince was killed by a Cannon-Ball, which shot him through the Head, as he was viewing the Trenches.

Octob. 10.  
1718.  
*The Siege of  
Fridericks-  
hall.*

*The Death of  
Charles XII.* The Death of this Monarch broke all the Designs of the Czar, deliver'd the King of *Poland* from the Fears of a Revolution, which his Minister *Fleming*, a Man of great Depth and Penetration, had foreseen, and left the *Swedes* at Liberty to execute upon Baron *Gortz*, the Hatred which the Nation bore him.

*Augustus* began to be secure from any Apprehensions from abroad; but he was still kept in Uneasiness, from Commotions at home. The  
eternal

eternal Diets of the *Poles* gave him an excessive Trouble. New Suspicions were raised every Day, and it seem'd as if he had been called again to the Throne, only to be perpetually tormented. He could not dispose of any Offices to the Strangers, who had done him Service, but the *Poles* murmur'd at his Gratitude. They express'd their ill Will towards him upon many Occasions, but more especially in the Affair of *Courland*.

The Inclinations of the *Courlanders* had raised The Affair of Courland. Count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the natural Son of King *Augustus*, by the Countess of *Koningsmar*, to the Sovereignty of that Duchy. All *Poland* in general accused the King of favouring the Election of his Son, and he was obliged to make him lay aside the Thoughts of his Advancement. Nor was this all the Dissatisfaction which *Augustus* experienc'd from a People, who were jealous of the least Shadow of their Liberty; but these Particulars do not fall within the Compass of our Design.

This Prince, the most illustrious Example of 1733. the different Extremes of Fortune, died on the Augustus dies. first of *February*, 1733, about sixty-three Years old. He was the Son of *John George III.* Elector of *Saxony*, of the *Albertine* Branch; and *Anna Sophia*, the Daughter of *Frederic III.* King of *Denmark*. He married *Christina Everbardina* of *Brandenbourg-Bareith*, and succeeded, in 1697, his Brother *John George IV.* who died without Issue. Three Years after, being chosen King of *Poland*, he saw himself forc'd to give up the Crown to *Stanislaus*, who was afterwards obliged to return it back into his Hand.

This Prince, dreaded in *Poland*, and ador'd in His Character. *Saxony*, was like the *Roman* Emperor, whose Name he bore, polite, affable and obliging; he lov'd

lov'd and protected Arts and Sciences. But like *Augustus*, he was better qualified to make his People taste the Pleasures of Peace, than to procure them Glory by the Success of his Arms. Cautious, and even fearful in Prosperity, he bore the greatest Shocks of Adversity with Resolution. Full of Clemency and Moderation, he regain'd the Throne only to pardon his most mortal Enemies. Instructed by Misfortunes, after his second coming to the Crown, he so far complied with the Temper of a jealous Republic, as to remove his dearest Friends from the Preferments he had given them. He deserv'd the Love of the *Poles*, and had only their Indifference, or Hatred.

*Stanislaus*  
*chosen again.*

Upon the Time fixed for the Election of a King, after his Decease, the *Polish* Nobility assembled, and repeated their Suffrages in favour of King *Stanislaus*; but he found, in the Emperor and the Czarina, an Obstacle to prevent his peaceable ascending the Throne that is due to his Virtues, and in the Son of his old Rival a new Competitor, whose Fate is not yet decided.



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